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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

SECTION I.

From A. D. 1066, *to* A. D. 1100.

A.D.1066. William duke of Normandy lands in England.

WILLIAM duke of Normandy having spent about eight months in the most vigorous preparations for invading England, and dethroning king Harold, sailed from the harbour of St. Vallori, at the mouth of the river Somme, with a great fleet and gallant army, on September 28, A. D. 1066, and the day after arrived at Pevensey in Sussex. At that

A.D. 1066. place he landed his troops, horſes, arms, and baggage of all kinds, without any oppoſition; and immediately erected a fort, into which he put a garriſon for the protection of his fleet[1]. From Pevenſey he marched to Haſtings; where he remained about fifteen days, fortifying his camp, collecting proviſions, refreſhing his men and horſes, and putting every thing in order for the proſecution of his deſign[2].

Harold marches from the north to Haſtings.

Harold was at York with his army, celebrating the victory which he had obtained over his brother Toſti and the king of Norway, when he received the news of this formidable invaſion. Rouſed, but not intimidated, by this intelligence, he put an end to his rejoicings, and began his march towards London[3]. When he arrived in that capital, he found his forces much diminiſhed, by the loſs which he had ſuſtained in the battle of Stamford bridge, and by a great deſertion which had taken place among his troops, through diſcontent at being deprived of their ſhare of the booty gained in that battle. In theſe circumſtances, he was adviſed by his wiſeſt counſellors, and particularly by his brother Gurth, to remain at London till he had refreſhed and recruited his army, or at leaſt not to venture his own perſon with unequal forces[4]. But being flushed with his late victory, he rejected theſe wiſe and friendly

[1] W. Pictavin. p. 198, 199. Orderic. Vital. p. 500. [2] Id. ibid.
[3] Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 211. Hoveden. Annal. p. 257.
[4] Orderic. Vital. p. 500.

admonitions with diſdain, and hurried towards Haſtings; where he arrived October 13, and pitched his camp near to that of the Normans [5]. A.D. 1066.

Battle of Haſtings.

The two armies did not continue long in that poſition before they came to action. For early on the morning of the 14th of October, A. D. 1066, William duke of Normandy, and Harold king of England, led their forces into the field, and drew them up in order of battle, to determine their important quarrel by the ſword. The Engliſh, who were all on foot, armed with ſwords, ſpears, and battle-axes, were formed into one deep and compact body; in the centre of which, on a riſing ground, the king, with his two brothers Gurth and Leofwin, placed themſelves, near to the royal ſtandard. The Norman infantry were drawn up in two lines, the firſt compoſed of archers and ſlingers, and the ſecond of the heavy-armed troops; the cavalry, commanded by the duke in perſon, being ſtationed in the rear, and on the two wings [6]. No ſooner was the ſignal of battle given by the ſound of all the inſtruments of martial muſic, than the Normans advanced, ſinging the famous ſong of Rolland, and began the action by diſcharging a prodigious flight of arrows upon the Engliſh [7]. By degrees the two armies approached nearer and

5 W. Malmſ. l. 3. p. 57. Orderic. Vital. p. 500.

6 W. Pictavin. p. 201. Math. Paris, p. 3.

7 W. Malmſ. l. 3. p. 57. Geſta Willielmi Ducis, p. 202. Hen. Hunt. p. 211.

A.D. 1066. nearer, and the battle raged with uncommon fury on both ſides, from morning till towards evening. The duke of Normandy, who had fought bravely, and had three horſes killed under him, obſerving that his troops began to relax in their efforts, and to deſpair of breaking the ranks of their enemies, had recourſe to a ſtratagem, which was crowned with ſucceſs. He gave orders to his forces to retire a little, as if they had been on the point of flying; which the Engliſh miſtaking for a real flight, broke their ranks, in order to purſue them, and complete their ruin. The Normans, at a certain ſignal, faced about, and made a furious aſſault on their purſuers, who were now ſcattered in many ſmall parties. From this time the battle was changed into many ſkirmiſhes in different parts, with various ſucceſs, till about ſunſet; when king Harold was killed by an arrow, which entering his eye, penetrated his brain; his two brothers were alſo ſlain, and the royal ſtandard taken: upon which the Engliſh fled on all ſides, and were purſued with great ſlaughter, till the darkneſs of the night put an end to the purſuit[8]. In this battle, the moſt important in its conſequences of any that ever was fought in this iſland, no fewer than fifteen thouſand Normans fell on one ſide: and on the other much greater numbers were ſlain; amongſt

[8] Hen. Hunt. p. 211. W. Pictavin. p. 203. R. Hoveden, p. 257. Math. Paris, p. 3. Orderic. Vital. p. 501.

whom

whom were the king, his two brothers, and the flower of the Engliſh nobility [9]. A.D. 1066.

Conduct of William after the victory.

As the duke of Normandy had diſplayed much conduct and valour in the battle of Haſtings, he diſcovered great prudence and humanity after the victory,—by returning ſolemn thanks to God on the field for the ſucceſs of his arms,—by permitting the Engliſh to bury their dead in perfect tranquillity,—by diſmiſſing with ignominy one of his ſoldiers for mangling the body of Harold, and —by ſending the corpſe of that prince to his mother Githa, without accepting the offered ranſom [10].

Remains of the Engliſh army retire to London.

It is eaſier to imagine than deſcribe the conſternation of the Engliſh, after the battle of Haſtings. Many of the fugitives, and amongſt others the two powerful earls Edwin and Morcar, with their remaining followers, made haſte to London, which became a ſcene of inexpreſſible terror and confuſion. Here frequent councils were held by Aldred archbiſhop of York, the two earls above mentioned, and the other nobility; who at length reſolved to raiſe Edgar Atheling, the undoubted heir of the Saxon royal family, to the throne; to collect an army, and make a ſtand in defence of their country, againſt the victorious invaders [11]. But it required more time than they were allowed to bring theſe deſigns to maturity, and carry them into execution.

9 W. Gemiticin. c. 36.

10 W. Malmſ. l. 3. p. 58. Hen. Knyhton, col. 2342.

11 W. Pictavin. p. 205. Diceto, col. 480. J. Brompt. Chron. col. 961. Hen. Knyht. col. 2343. R. Hoveden, fol. 257. col. 2.

A.D. 1066. William marches to London.

The duke of Normandy having buried his dead, and refreſhed his army by a few days reſt, began his march towards London; and in his way chaſtiſed the inhabitants of Romney, who had killed ſome of his men, got poſſeſſion of the town and caſtle of Dover by ſurrender, and received the ſubmiſſions of the Kentiſh men[12]. His progreſs was a little retarded by theſe operations, and by a dyſentery among his troops, which obliged him to remain about a week at Dover, employing ſuch of his forces as were in perfect health in repairing and ſtrengthening the fortifications of that place. At length he reſumed his march, and approached the capital; which at firſt ſhut its gates, and made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance. But a large body of citizens, who made a ſally, having been repulſed with ſlaughter by a party of Norman cavalry, the whole city was thrown into confuſion; thoſe who had loſt their friends breaking out into the moſt clamorous lamentations[13]. This confuſion of the people ſhut up in London, was ſoon after much increaſed by their beholding the flames of Southwark, which was ſet on fire and reduced to aſhes by the Normans[14]. In a word, the conſternation was ſo great and univerſal, that Edwin and Morcar, the earls of Mercia and Northumberland, perceiving that no effectual reſiſtance could be made,

[12] W. Pictavin. p. 205.
[13] Orderic. Vital. p. 503.
[14] Id. ibid.

retired

retired with precipitation, and marched off with their numerous followers into the north. A.D. 1066.

London surrenders to William.

Soon after this, the victorious invader having paſſed the Thames at Wallingford with his army, approached the city on that ſide which was not defended by the river. This greatly increaſed the terror of the citizens, and haſtened their reſolution to ſurrender. Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, Aldred archbiſhop of York, and two other biſhops, five of the principal citizens of London, ſeveral noblemen, and even Edgar Atheling himſelf, went out to meet the conqueror, and made their ſubmiſſions to him at Berkhamſtead [15]. The example of ſo many illuſtrious perſons was ſoon followed by almoſt all the ſurviving nobility of England, who joined with them in making William an offer of the vacant throne; which, after ſome affected excuſes, at the earneſt intreaty of his Norman counſellors, he accepted [16].

William makes preparations for his coronation.

William did not immediately enter London, though its gates were thrown open, and all the hoſtages delivered which he had demanded; but ſent a part of his army to take poſſeſſion of it, to erect a fortification in it, and to make the neceſſary preparations for his coronation, which he appointed to be in Weſtminſter abbey, on Chriſtmas day following. In the mean time, to ſhew how much his mind was at eaſe, and his affairs in a ſettled ſtate, he amuſed himſelf with

[15] R. Hoveden, Annal. p. 258. [16] W. Pictavin. p. 205.

A.D.1066. the diverſions of hunting and hawking in the neighbourhood [17].

William is crowned.

Early on the morning of Chriſtmas day, A. D. 1066, duke William, attended by the chief nobility of England and Normandy, repaired to Weſtminſter abbey, where he was crowned king of England with all the uſual ceremonies, by Aldred archbiſhop of York, aſſiſted by Goisfred biſhop of Conſtance. The former of theſe prelates, who was famous for his eloquence, made an oration to the Engliſh in their own language, and concluded with aſking them, if they choſe William for their king, and conſented to his coronation; to which they ſignified their aſſent by the loudeſt acclamations. The biſhop of Conſtance aſked the ſame queſtion of the Normans in their language, and received the ſame anſwer in the ſame manner. The archbiſhop then adminiſtered the oath to William that had been adminiſtered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, ſeated him in the throne, and placed the crown on his head, amidſt the loud and repeated acclamations of the whole aſſembly [18].

Tumult at the coronation.

Theſe acclamations were productive of very fatal conſequences. For the Norman guards ſtationed without the abbey, hearing ſuch vehement reiterated ſhouts in a language which they did not underſtand, began to apprehend that the Engliſh

[17] W. Pictavin. p. 205.

[18] W. Pictavin. p. 206. Orderic. Vital. p. 502, 503. T. Stubbs, col. 1702. R. Hoveden, fol. 258. W. Newbregin, l. 1. c. 1, p. 2.

were

were offering violence to their prince, and in a sudden tranſport of rage ſet fire to the neighbouring houſes, which, being of wood, burnt with great violence. This occaſioned a prodigious alarm and uproar within the abbey; men and women ruſhing out with impetuoſity to ſave their lives, which they imagined to be in danger. In a word, the tumult both within and without the abbey was ſo great, that it ſtruck terror into the new monarch, and was not appeaſed without much difficulty. This incident, however caſual, increaſed the jealouſy and animoſity of the two nations, and was conſidered, in that ſuperſtitious age, as an omen of a turbulent unhappy reign [19]. A.D.1066.

William, after his coronation, applied with great activity to regulate the affairs of his kingdom, endeavouring to gain the affections of the Engliſh, as well as to gratify the expectations of the Normans. Being ſtill a little ſuſpicious of the people of London, he left that city, as the fortifications which he had directed to be raiſed for his ſecurity were not yet finiſhed, and retired to Berking in Eſſex. At this place the two great earls Edwin and Morcar, earl Coxo, Ederic, ſurnamed *the Foreſter*, and ſeveral other Engliſh noblemen, waited upon him, made their ſubmiſſions, and were moſt graciouſly received, and confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all their honours and eſtates. From Berking he made a progreſs A.D.1067. First acts of king William's government.

[19] Orderic. Vital. p. 503.

into

A.D.1067. into ſeveral parts of the kingdom, receiving the homage of his new ſubjects, and behaving to all who ſubmitted to his authority with the moſt engaging affability. In this progreſs he was at great pains to reſtrain his Norman attendants from doing any injuries, or offering any inſults to his Engliſh ſubjects[20]. By theſe popular and prudent meaſures the public tranquillity was every where reſtored, and nothing appeared but the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion to the new government. That he might have it in his power to gratify the expections of his Norman followers, he ſeized all the lands and treaſures of Harold and his brothers, which were very great, and confiſcated the eſtates of all the Engliſh nobles who had fallen fighting againſt him in the battle of Haſtings. He received alſo very conſiderable ſums of money from his wealthy Engliſh ſubjects, as preſents, on his acceſſion, given with a view to ſecure his favour. By theſe means he was enabled to beſtow honours and eſtates upon his chief followers, and money upon others. Beſides this, to diffuſe the fame of his riches, piety, and munificence, he ſent very valuable preſents to the Pope, who had favoured his enterpriſe, and to many churches on the continent, wherein prayers had been put up for his ſucceſs. Still further to ſecure the obedience of the Engliſh, of whoſe attachment he yet entertained ſome doubts, he commanded ſtrong

[20] W. Pictavin. p. 208.

caſtles

caſtles to be built near the chief cities, and in other convenient places, to be garriſoned by his truſty Normans, on whoſe fidelity he could depend [21]. A.D. 1067.

By theſe and the like precautions, in leſs than three months after his coronation, William beheld ſuch an appearance of order, tranquillity, and obedience to his authority, in all parts of England, that he imagined he might now with ſafety viſit his native country and his family; to dazzle their eyes with his magnificence, and receive their congratulations on the ſucceſs of his expedition. Having therefore appointed his uterine brother Odo biſhop of Bayeux, and his great favourite William Fitz-Oſbern, regents of England, towards the end of March A. D. 1067, he embarked at Pevenſey in Suſſex (where he had landed about ſix months before), and ſoon after arrived in Normandy, with a gallant fleet, and a ſplendid train of the nobility of England, as well as of his ancient ſubjects. For beſides the precautions already mentioned, which he had taken for preſerving the peace of his new dominions in his abſence, he very prudently carried with him to the continent, Edgar Atheling, Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls Edwin and Morcar, and all the other Engliſh noblemen, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected, or who were formidable for their wealth and power, under a pretence of doing them honour, but in reality

King William returns to Normandy.

[21] W. Pictavin. p. 208.

A.D.1067. reality to keep them as hoſtages for the peaceable behaviour of their dependents[22]. As an impatient vanity, unworthy of his character, ſeems to have prompted William to this too haſty voyage, which proved the ſource of much diſquiet to himſelf, and of many calamities to his ſubjects; ſo he made an oſtentatious diſplay of the riches and grandeur he had acquired in England, to excite the admiration of his own people, and of the nobles and princes who came from all the neighbouring countries to viſit his court, and pay their compliments of congratulation. The quantity and exquiſite workmanſhip of his gold and ſilver plate, the ſplendid dreſs of his guards, and the magnificence of his Engliſh nobles, exceeded every thing that had been ſeen in thoſe parts, and filled all ſpectators with admiration[23].

Inſurrections of the Engliſh.

While William was thus ſpending his time in a kind of triumphant progreſs through the towns and cities of Normandy, buſineſs of a different kind was preparing for him in England. Many of the Norman captains, unawed by the preſence of their ſovereign, abuſed their power, and loaded the unhappy Engliſh with injuries and indignities; which that people, ſtill mindful of their former free and happy ſtate, bore with much impatience. This ſoon produced murmurs and complaints; which being diſregarded by the regents, broke out into open revolts in ſeveral

[22] W. Pictavin, p. 209. [23] Id. p. 211.

places.

places. The Kentiſh-men, in conjunction with Euſtace earl of Bologne, who was then at variance with William, made an unſucceſsful attempt on the town and caſtle of Dover[24]. Edric the Foreſter, with the aſſiſtance of two Welſh princes, defended himſelf againſt the inſults of the Norman captains ſettled in Herefordſhire, repelling force by force[25]. Coxo, a powerful Engliſh earl, was put to death by his own people, becauſe he obſtinately perſiſted in his ſubmiſſion to the new government, and refuſed to head them in an inſurrection[26]. In a word, the Engliſh in all parts of the kingdom were ripe for a revolt; and there wanted not ſome ſecret conſultations about a general maſſacre of the Normans[27]. A.D. 1067.

William, having received information of the diſcontents which prevailed in England, became ſenſible of the neceſſity of his immediate preſence in that kingdom; and, appointing his queen Matilda, and his eldeſt ſon Robert, regents of Normandy, he ſailed from Dieppe on the 6th of December, and on the 7th landed at Winchelſea, from whence he proceeded to London, where he kept his Chriſtmas[28]. Here he was attended by many of the Engliſh prelates and nobles; who met with a more favourable reception than they expected, and even obtained King William returns to England.

[24] Orderic. Vital. p. 508.
[25] Hoveden. Annal. p. 258.
[26] Orderic. Vital. p. 509.
[27] Gemiticin. c. 29.
[28] Orderic. Vital. p. 509.

redreſs

A.D.1067. redreſs of ſome of thoſe injuries which had been done to them by the Normans. This produced an appearance of tranquillity, which was neither very ſolid nor very laſting [29].

A.D.1068. Revolts ſuppreſſed. The unſeaſonable expenſive voyage to Normandy had not only given occaſion to the inſurrections already mentioned, but it had alſo exhauſted the royal treaſury ſo much, that William, ſoon after his return to England, found himſelf under the neceſſity of reviving the odious tax of Danegelt. This revived the diſcontents of the Engliſh, and occaſioned freſh troubles. The people of Exeter, at the inſtigation of Githa, the mother of king Harold, who reſided in that city, broke out into open rebellion, repaired their walls, increaſed their garriſon, laid in proviſions, and made every poſſible preparation for a vigorous reſiſtance, ſoliciting all the neighbouring country to join in their revolt. The king immediately marched into thoſe parts at the head of his army, and after a ſiege of eighteen days, obliged them to implore his clemency and ſubmit to his authority, Githa having in the mean time made her eſcape into Flanders with all her treaſures [30]. After the reduction of Exeter, William marched into Cornwall; and having ſuppreſſed certain commotions which had been raiſed in that country, returned to Wincheſter, where he celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter. His

[29] Orderic. Vital. p. 509.
[30] Id. p. 510. Chron. Saxon p. 1068.

royal

royal conſort Matilda arrived in England about this time, and was crowned at Weſtminſter on Whitſunday by Aldred archbiſhop of York; and before the end of the year ſhe was delivered of her fourth ſon, who was named *Henry*[31]. A.D. 1068.

At this time William ſeemed to be completely happy, both in his family and government. But this happineſs was of ſhort duration; and he ſoon found himſelf involved in new toils and dangers. The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, were by far the moſt powerful of all the Engliſh nobility who ſurvived the battle of Haſtings, having about a third part of England under their own authority and that of their friends. Beſides this, they were amiable in their perſons and manners, beloved by their dependents, the favourites of the clergy, and the idols of the common people[32]. The late king Harold had been their brother-in-law, and the reigning prince of Wales was their nephew. The artful Norman was not ignorant of any of theſe circumſtances, and well knew what dangerous enemies they might have been to a new-eſtabliſhed government, and had therefore courted them with great attention; and, in particular, had promiſed Edwin his daughter in marriage. But when that young nobleman claimed the accompliſhment of this promiſe, he met with a denial: at which he was ſo much enraged, that Revolt of earls Edwin and Morcar.

[31] J. Brompt. col. 963.
[32] Orderic. Vital. p. 511. J. Brompt. col. 969.

he

A.D. 1068. he retired with his brother into the north, where they encouraged the diſaffection of their followers, entered into negociations with the kings of Scotland and Denmark, and the princes of Wales, formed a plan for attacking the king and his Normans, by ſtrong armies in ſeveral places at the ſame time.

William ſuppreſſes that revolt.

William, ſenſible that his ſafety depended upon his celerity, flew into the north with an army, and diſconcerted the deſigns of his enemies before they could bring them to maturity. The two brothers, with Archil a potent nobleman in thoſe parts, finding their ſchemes blaſted, threw themſelves on the king's mercy, and obtained a ſeeming but not a ſincere forgiveneſs. The people of York, who had engaged keenly in this conſpiracy, finding it diſcovered, endeavoured to make their peace, by giving hoſtages, and ſending the keys of their city to William; who diſtruſting their fidelity, built a caſtle in their city, in which he placed a Norman garriſon. For the further ſecurity of his government he built caſtles at Warwick, Nottingham, Lincoln, Huntington, and Cambridge. Malcolm, king of Scotland, ſeeing the confederacy diſſolved, made his peace with William; who having thus diſſipated this threatening ſtorm by his activity, returned triumphant into the ſouth [33].

Engliſh nobility abandon their country.

By this time a great part of the property of England was, by numerous confiſcations, tranſ-

33 Simeon Dunelm. col. 203. R. Diceto, col. 482. Orderic. Vital. p. 511.

ferred

ferred to the Normans, who alſo ingroſſed the favour of the ſovereign, and all places of power and profit. The far greateſt part of the ancient Engliſh noble families were extinguiſhed or reduced to poverty; and thoſe who remained, ſaw themſelves deſpiſed, diſtruſted, and in daily danger of ruin from the ſuſpicions of the Conqueror, and the rapacity of his Norman favourites. Many of them therefore retired into foreign countries to avoid the dangers with which they were ſurrounded, and to reſerve themſelves for better times. In particular, Edgar Atheling, his two ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtina, with earl Coſpatric, and ſeveral other noblemen, retired into Scotland; where they met with a moſt gracious reception from king Malcolm; who married the princeſs Margaret, and beſtowed lands on her noble attendants; from whom ſeveral great families in that kingdom derive their deſcent [34]. A.D.1068.

Though the retreat of ſo many noble perſons weakened the Engliſh intereſt, and enriched the Normans with their ſpoils, it did not ſecure the tranquillity of the kingdom, which, A. D. 1069, was a ſcene of great confuſion. Two ſons of the late king Harold, who had left England after the unfortunate battle of Haſtings, and taken ſhelter in the court of Dermot king of Ireland, having, with the aſſiſtance of that prince, and other A.D.1069. Two ſons of king Harold invade England, and are defeated.

34 M. Paris, p. 4. Annal. Waverlien. An. 1068. Chron. Saxon. p. 174. R. Hoveden. Annal. 259. col. 2.

A.D. 1069. friends, collected a small army, and a fleet of sixty-six ships, resolved to make an attempt to retrieve the ruined fortunes of their family. About the beginning of this year they landed with their troops on the coast of Devonshire; but were suddenly attacked by a party of Normans under the command of Briaux, a son of the earl of Brittany, who defeated them twice in one day, killed seventeen hundred of their men, and obliged the two unhappy adventurers to flee to their ships, and return into Ireland [35].

The English, assisted by the Scots and Danes, revolt.

There were risings of the English about the same time in the counties of Cornwall, Dorset, Somerset, Salop, and the isle of Ely [36]. But the most formidable commotions were in the north, where every thing seemed to conspire to the extirpation of the Normans. Robert Cummin governor of Durham was killed in an insurrection, with about seven hundred of his followers, on the 29th of January [37]. A few days after, the people of York surprised and killed Robert Fitz-Richard their governor, with many of his men, and besieged the castle, which had been built to keep them in subjection. During the continuance of this siege, a Danish fleet of three hundred ships, commanded by Osberne, brother to Sweyn king of Denmark, arrived in the Humber, and landed an army, which, after

35 Orderic. Vital. p. 513. W. Gemiticen, c. 41.

36 Orderic. Vital. p. 514.

37 R. Hoveden, p. 259. Simeon Dunelm. col. 34. 198. J. Brompt. col. 969.

plunder-

plundering the country, joined the Engliſh at the ſiege of York caſtle, who were alſo joined about the ſame time by Edgar Atheling, Coſpatric, Waltheof, Merleſwain, and other exiles from Scotland, with a party of Northumbrians. Many of the Normans in thoſe parts had taken ſhelter in the caſtle of York, which they defended with great bravery, in hopes of being relieved by William, to whom they had ſent an account of their danger. On the 19th of September they made a ſally, and ſet fire to the houſes neareſt the caſtle; and the flames ſpreading, burnt the cathedral and the greateſt part of the city. The beſiegers, enraged at this beyond meaſure, amidſt the confuſion occaſioned by the fire, took the caſtle by aſſault, and put the whole garriſon, conſiſting of three thouſand men, to the ſword, except the governor, William Malet, with his wife and two children, whoſe lives they ſpared. After this exploit the Danes returned to their ſhips loaded with booty, and the Northumbrians retired to their own homes [38]. A.D. 1069.

When William, who had been employed in ſuppreſſing the inſurrections in the ſouth, received intelligence of theſe tranſactions in the north, he was inflamed with the moſt violent rage, and ſwore that he would lay that whole country deſolate, and extirpate its inhabitants. To execute this threatened vengeance, he marched his army northward; and that he might not have two William recovers York.

[38] Simeon Dunelm. col. 198. J. Brompt. col. 966.

A.D.1069. enemies to contend with at the ſame time, he entered into a private negotiation with Oſberne, the commander of the Daniſh army, and prevailed upon him by a ſum of money, and permiſſion to plunder the ſea-coaſts, to return with his fleet and army into Denmark in the ſpring. The king then inveſted York with his army, and having taken it, and received Waltheof its governor into favour, he ſpent his Chriſtmas in that city with the uſual ſolemnities [39].

A.D.1070. Deſolates the north of England.

In the beginning of the year 1070, William marched northward with his army, deſtroying and burning the whole country as he advanced, and putting all the inhabitants to the ſword without mercy. In this cruel and deſtructive manner he proceeded as far as Hexham, marking his way with blood and deſolation. Many of the wretched inhabitants, who eſcaped the ſword by flying to the woods and mountains, periſhed by famine; in ſo much that no fewer than one hundred thouſand men, women, and children, are ſaid to have been cut off by theſe two cruel enemies of mankind (ſword and famine), in the ſpace of a few months. In a word, William executed his threatened vengeance with ſuch unrelenting ſeverity, that the whole country between York and Durham was converted into a dreary deſert, without houſes and without inhabitants, and remained in that condition about nine years [40]. Edgar Athe-

[39] Orderic. Vital. p. 515. Chron. Saxon. p. 174. R. Hoveden, fol. 258. col. 2.

[40] R. Hoveden, p. 258. col. 2.

ling

ling and his attendants ſeeing all loſt, and dreading to fall into the hands of the enraged Conqueror, eſcaped into Scotland by ſea; only Coſpatric threw himſelf on the king's mercy, obtained his pardon, and for a ſum of money was conſtituted earl of Northumberland[41]. From this period, William ſeems to have been quite alienated from his Engliſh ſubjects, and to have reſolved to depreſs and ruin them, that they might not be able to diſturb his government. A.D. 1070.

Malcolm king of Scotland, ſo nearly connected with Edgar Atheling, intended to ſupport his cauſe, and aſſiſt the inſurgents; but was too dilatory in his motions. At length, however, he marched out of Cumberland, which was then under his dominion, into Northumberland, which he plundered with great ſeverity; and then returned into his own kingdom with much booty, and ſo great a number of priſoners, that (if we may believe an ancient Engliſh hiſtorian) there was hardly a village, or even a houſe in Scotland, in which you might not meet with an Engliſh ſlave or ſlaves[42]. Malcolm king of Scotland invades Northumberland.

The two brothers, Edwin and Morcar, who had remained quiet during all the violent commotions of the preceding year, now diſcovered, very unſeaſonably, their fear or their diſaffection by flying from the court. Morcar took ſhelter in the iſle of Ely, where either by force or fraud he was taken, and thrown into priſon. Edwin A.D. 1071. Edwin and Morcar revolt, and are ſuppreſſed.

41 R. Hoveden, p. 258. col. 2. 42 Id. ibid. p. 259.

A.D.1071. attempting to make his eſcape into Scotland, the common aſylum of the afflicted Engliſh of thoſe times, was betrayed by three brothers his moſt familiar friends, into the hands of the Normans, and after a brave defence, was killed with about twenty of his attendants. As this amiable, but unfortunate young nobleman, had been much beloved, he was greatly lamented, eſpecially by his countrymen the Engliſh; and even the unrelenting William, who had been long inured to blood and ſlaughter, could not refrain from tears when he beheld his head preſented to him by the traitors, in hopes of a reward; inſtead of which he condemned them to perpetual exile[43]. After the death of Edwin, and impriſonment of Morcar, all their great eſtates were confiſcated, and either veſted in the crown or granted to the Normans[44]. Still further to gratify his own avarice, and that of his followers, having received intelligence that many of the wretched Engliſh had concealed their money and plate in monaſteries, he commanded them to be ſtrictly ſearched, and theſe effects to be ſeized and confiſcated wherever they could be found[45].

A.D.1072. William's expedition into Scotland.

As Malcolm, king of Scotland, had given a kind reception to all the Engliſh exiles, and was ever ready to aſſiſt them in their attempts againſt the Norman government, William, having now

43 Orderic. Vital. p. 521. J. Brompt. col. 969. Chron. Saxon. p. 181.

44 Orderic. Vital. p. 522.

45 Annal. Waverlien. p. 130.

ſup-

ſuppreſſed all the inſurrections in England, reſolved on an expedition into Scotland. In conſequence of this reſolution he conducted an army into that country, where he was met by Malcolm at the head of an army of equal ſtrength. After the two armies had faced each other ſeveral days, a negociation was ſet on foot, which terminated in a peace, by which Malcolm agreed to do homage to William for his lands in England, and William agreed to receive Edgar Atheling again into favour, and grant him an honourable eſtabliſhment [46]. On his return from Scotland, William deprived Coſpatric of the earldom of Northumberland, and beſtowed it upon Waltheof, who was now become a great favourite, and to whom he had given his own niece Judith in marriage [47]. A.D.1072.

By this peace with Scotland, and the reduction of England to a ſtate of tranquillity, William was now at liberty to make a ſecond voyage to the continent, to ſuppreſs a revolt in the county of Maine, fomented by Fulk earl of Anjou, who had ſome pretenſions to that county. Willing to allow the Normans ſettled in England to enjoy ſome repoſe after ſo many toils and dangers, he compoſed the army which he carried with him chiefly of his Engliſh ſubjects; who fighting with great bravery, in order to retrieve their national character for valour, and to A.D.1073. William viſits Normandy.

46 Annal. Waverlien. p. 130 Chron. Saxon. p. 181.
47 Orderic. Vital. p. 522.

A.D.1073. gain, if poſſible, the eſteem and favour of their ſovereign, ſoon reduced the diſputed country to his obedience[48]. William ſpent the whole of this, and the greateſt part of the year 1074, in Normandy, enjoying the company of his family, and regulating the affairs of his dominions.

A.D.1074. A conſpiracy of the Normans diſcovered and defeated.

While the Conqueror was thus employed in his native country, a conſpiracy was forming againſt him in England, by ſome of thoſe Norman barons on whom he had heaped wealth and honours with a liberal hand. Roger earl of Hereford, ſon and heir of William's great favourite Fitz-Oſberne, had promiſed his ſiſter in marriage to Ralph de Guader earl of Norfolk, and applied to the king for his conſent to their nuptials; which he, for reaſons unknown to us, refuſed. The two haughty barons were much enraged at this refuſal, and, without regarding it, proceeded to the celebration of the intended marriage, and invited all the chief friends of both families to the marriage feaſt, amongſt others Waltheof earl of Huntingdon, Northampton, and Northumberland, married to Judith the king's niece, the only Engliſhman who then enjoyed any conſiderable degree of power, wealth, or royal favour. When the gueſts were heated with liquor at the nuptial banquet, politics were introduced; the two earls gave free vent to their diſcontent and reſentment againſt William, repreſenting him as an infamous baſtard, an in-

[48] Chron. Saxon, p. 182.

ſolent

ſolent imperious tyrant, unworthy to reign over ſuch brave men as they were, and at length propoſed a conſpiracy to deprive him of the kingdom, which they ſuggeſted might be eaſily accompliſhed in his abſence, by the aſſiſtance of the Danes, Welſh, and diſcontented Engliſh. Waltheof at firſt heſitated, and objected; but was at laſt prevailed upon to enter into the conſpiracy, which, to their inflamed imaginations, appeared perfectly juſt, and eaſy of execution. When reſt, however, had diſpelled the fumes of liquor, it was ſeen in a very different light by the unhappy Waltheof, who became thoughtful, reſtleſs, and apprehenſive. At length, to relieve his loaded heart, he communicated the whole ſecret of the conſpiracy to his wife, of whoſe fidelity he entertained no doubt. But the faithleſs Judith, whoſe affections were ſecretly fixed on another object, glad of an opportunity of ruining her huſband, ſent a truſty meſſenger into Normandy to reveal the plot to her uncle, and to aggravate the guilt of Waltheof as much as poſſible. Waltheof, not yet eaſy in his mind, revealed the fatal ſecret to Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury, under the ſeal of confeſſion, profeſſing repentance, and aſking his advice. That prelate adviſed him immediately to go to Normandy, and communicate the whole affair to the king, as the moſt effectual means of meriting and obtaining his forgiveneſs. He complied with this advice; and met with a reception ſeemingly not unfavourable, though he was A.D. 1074.

detained

A.D.1074. detained in cuſtody. As ſoon as the other conſpirators heard of the flight of Waltheof into Normandy, they concluded that he had betrayed them, and raſhly flew to arms before their plot was ripe for execution. The earl of Hereford was defeated, and taken priſoner, by the nobles and prelates of Worceſterſhire. The other great conſpirator, Ralph earl of Norfolk, being routed near Cambridge, by Odo biſhop of Bayeux, and regent of the kingdom, took ſhelter in his caſtle of Norwich; where he was beſieged, with his lady and family. The earl, dreading to fall into the hands of his enemies, made his eſcape beyond ſea; after which his lady ſurrendered the caſtle, and agreed to go into perpetual exile. Soon after this a Daniſh fleet and army arrived on the Engliſh coaſt to the aſſiſtance of the conſpirators; but hearing that they were ſuppreſſed, returned to Denmark without landing [49].

William returns to England.

William arrived in England in autumn this year, and found the public tranquillity reſtored, by the diſperſion or impriſonment of the inſurgents. According to his unjuſt and cruel policy, he puniſhed the common people with great ſeverity, hanging ſome and mutilating others. The earl of Hereford, though he had been the author of this conſpiracy, yet, being a Norman, and the ſon of a favourite, was treated with great lenity, and only conſigned to perpetual confinement [50].

[49] Orderic. Vital. p. 434, 435. R. Hoveden, p. 262. Chron. Saxon, p. 182, 183.

[50] Orderic. Vital. p. 435.

The

The unhappy Waltheof did not meet with the same indulgence, though he had the strongest claims to mercy. He had been drawn into the conspiracy when he was in a state of intoxication; he repented of it as soon as he recovered the exercise of his reason; and he prevented its success by a seasonable discovery. But being an Englishman, and possessed of great wealth, he was obnoxious to the Norman courtiers, who coveted his estates, and, in conjunction with his unfaithful wife, pushed on the prosecution against him with great violence. On his trial he denied that he had ever entered into the conspiracy, but confessed that he had concealed it for a time. His judges were divided in their opinions, and held several consultations before they condemned him to death. Even after that hard sentence was pronounced, William hesitated, and kept him some months in prison at Winchester. In this interval the English were full of anxiety for his safety, and put up incessant prayers to Heaven for his deliverance, while Judith and the Norman courtiers eagerly solicited his execution. At length William yielded to their importunity, and granted a warrant for his death; which was executed, with indecent haste, and other circumstances of cruelty, very early in the morning, April 29, on a rising ground without the gates of Winchester. Thus fell, by the intrigues of a wicked woman, and of covetous ambitious courtiers, one of the best and greatest, and almost the last of the ancient English nobles! His death

A.D. 1075. Earl Waltheof condemned and executed.

was

A.D.1075. was bitterly bewailed by his unhappy countrymen, who long revered his memory, both as a hero and a saint [51].

A.D.1076. William returns to Normandy.

The other chief conspirator, Ralph de Guader, earl of Norfolk, had great possessions in Brittany, to which he retired after his escape from his castle of Norwich. As soon as William had settled his affairs in England, he pursued him to the continent, and besieged him in the city of Dol, in which he had taken refuge, solemnly swearing not to raise the siege till he had taken the city and seized his enemy. But he soon found that it was not in his power to keep his oath. For the king of France and duke of Brittany espousing the cause of the besieged, marched with a powerful army to their relief, and obliged William to raise the siege with great precipitation, leaving tents and baggage behind him to the value of fifteen thousand pounds. A peace was soon after concluded between all the contending parties, which was cemented by the marriage of the princess Constance, a daughter of the king of England, to the duke of Brittany [52].

War between William and his eldest son Robert.

William had now reduced all his subjects, and made peace with all his neighbours, and expected to enjoy some repose. These expectations proved delusive, and he soon found himself involved in fresh troubles of a most disagreeable kind, occa-

[51] Orderic. Vital. p. 536, 537.

[52] Chron. Saxon. p. 183. Orderic. Vital, p. 544.

ſioned by the ambitious and impatient ſpirit of Robert his eldeſt ſon. That young prince had ſome years before been declared heir to all his father's dominions on the continent, and now began to inſiſt with much earneſtneſs on the immediate poſſeſſion of ſome of theſe dominions. For ſome time William eluded his applications by evaſive anſwers; but at laſt he was obliged to tell him plainly, that he was determined not to reſign any of his territories while he lived [53]. This denial increaſed the diſcontent and anger of Robert, which was blown up into an ungovernable flame by the following incident, trifling in itſelf, but important in its conſequences. The king ſpending ſome time this year in the caſtle of L'Aigle with his court, his two younger ſons, William and Henry, in a youthful frolic threw ſome water from an upper apartment on their elder brother Robert and his companions, who were walking in the court below. Robert, naturally paſſionate, and at that time in a peeviſh diſcontented ſtate of mind, flew into a rage, drew his ſword, and ran up ſtairs, threatening to take a bloody revenge on his brothers, of whoſe favour with their father he was not a little jealous. This occaſioned a prodigious tumult and uproar in the caſtle; and nothing but the preſence and au hority of the king could have prevented ſome fatal miſchief. The tumult was quelled; but the wrath of Robert was not ap- A.D. 1076.

[53] Orderic. Vital. p. 569.

peaſed;

A.D.1076. peaſed; for he privately retired from court that very evening, with a number of the young nobility attached to his fortunes, with a view to ſurpriſe the citadel of Rouen, the capital of Normandy. They were diſappointed in this deſign by the vigilance of the governor; and as ſoon as William heard of this rebellious attempt, he iſſued orders to ſeize his ſon and all his companions. A few of them were taken; but Robert and the others made their eſcape, and were received by Hugh de Neuf-Chatel into his caſtles. An open war now broke out between the father and the ſon; which raged with great violence, and unſpeakable miſchief to the country, almoſt three years [54].

A.D.1079. William reconciled to his ſon. At length the conduct, valour, and fortune of William prevailed; and Robert, though he had been joined by many of the young nobility of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, ſecretly aided by the king of France, and privately ſupplied with money by his mother queen Matilda, was driven out of Normandy, and took ſhelter with his remaining followers in the caſtle of Gerberoy in France. His father purſued him thither, and beſieged the caſtle; which was defended with great valour, and many vigorous ſallies. In one of theſe Robert encountered, wounded, and unhorſed his father; who diſcovered himſelf, by crying out as he fell to the ground. As ſoon as the ſon heard his parent's voice, he was pene-

[54] Orderic. Vital. p. 545. M. Paris, p. 7. R. Hoveden, p. 462.

trated

trated with remorſe and horror at what he had done, ſprung from his horſe, fell on his knees, and moſt earneſtly implored his pardon. William, chagrined with the indignity of his fall, the ſmart of his wound, and the many vexations which his ſon's rebellion had occaſioned, did not immediately relent; but mounting his horſe, and pronouncing a curſe inſtead of a pardon, returned to his army[55]. There reflecting coolly on his ſon's ſubmiſſive behaviour, his parental affections began to operate: he raiſed the ſiege, returned into Normandy, and by the interceſſion of queen Matilda, and other common friends, he was reconciled to Robert and his adherents[56]. A.D. 1079.

While William reſided in Normandy, ſome events happened in England which ſeemed to require his preſence. Malcolm king of Scotland invaded Northumberland, A. D. 1078, and carried off much booty and many priſoners[57]. Walcher biſhop of Durham, and earl of Northumberland, was killed May 14, A. D. 1080, at Gateſhead, with about one hundred of his attendants, by the family and friends of one Leulf, an Engliſh nobleman, who had been baſely murdered by Liothwin and Gillebert, two of the biſhop's favourites[58]. William, on his return into England, in autumn this year, ſent an army into the north under the command of his ſon Robert, A.D. 1080. William ſends his ſon Robert with an army into the north.

55 M. Paris, p. 7. Orderic. Vital. p. 572, 573.
56 R. Hoveden, p. 262. 57 Id. ibid. Chron. Saxon. p. 184.
58 Simeon Dunelm. col. 48.

Who

A.D.1080. who had come with him out of Normandy; and of his own uterine brother Odo biſhop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent, to chaſtiſe the Northumbrians, and retaliate the injuries which had been done by the king of Scotland. It was in the courſe of this expedition that Robert built a caſtle, near the place where the biſhop of Durham had been ſlain, which he called *Newcaſtle*, from which the flouriſhing town of Newcaſtle upon Tyne derived its origin [59].

A.D.1081. Doomſday book. Tranquillity being now reſtored to William's family and dominions, he began about this time, or perhaps a little later, the famous ſurvey of England, which doth more honour to his memory than any of his victories. This ſurvey was conducted by commiſſioners, taking information upon oath in each county, of the following particulars; the name of every town or village;—who held it in king Edward's days;—who now poſſeſſed it;—how many freemen, villains, and cottagers were in it;—how many hides of land were in each manor; how many of theſe were in demeſne;—how much wood-land, meadow, and paſture;—how much it paid in taxes in king Edward's days;—and how much now;—how many mills and fiſh-ponds.——And in ſome places they were even more particular, and took an account of the horſes, black cattle, ſwine, ſheep, and hives of bees [60]. All theſe informations were returned by the commiſſioners, and

59 R. Hoveden, p. 263.

60 Chron. Saxon, p. 186.

formed

formed into the two valuable volumes of Doomſday-book, which are ſtill preſerved in the exchequer. By this ſurvey William acquired an exact knowledge of the poſſeſſions of the crown, the church, the nobility, and land-owners; and of the number, quality, and wealth of all his ſubjects; from whence ſo wiſe a prince might derive manifold advantages. A.D. 1081.

About this time Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, forfeited the favour of William his uterine brother, by whom he had been loaded with benefits. That ambitious prelate, not contented with all the honours which he enjoyed, had caſt his eyes upon the papal dignity; and in order to ſecure his advancement to it on the firſt vacancy, had amaſſed prodigious treaſures, and engaged many powerful friends, with whom he propoſed to go to Rome. William, unwilling to ſee ſo great a maſs of money and ſo many uſeful ſubjects carried out of the kingdom, put a ſtop to this deſign, by ſeizing Odo in the iſle of Wight, as he was ready to embark, and confining him in priſon in the caſtle of Rouen, where he remained till the king's death[61]. A.D. 1082. William ſeizes his uterine brother Odo.

William made a voyage into Normandy this year to viſit his queen, Matilda, who had fallen into a lingering illneſs, of which ſhe died on November 2. That princeſs, who is ſaid to have been amiable in her perſon, virtuous in her manners, and remarkable for her learning, lived A.D. 1083. Death of queen Matilda.

[61] Orderic. Vital. p. 646. R. Hoveden, p. 263.

A.D.1083. in great conjugal harmony with her royal conſort thirty-three years, and brought him four ſons; Robert, who ſucceeded his father in Normandy; Richard, who was accidentally killed as he was hunting in the New Foreſt; William and Henry, who were ſucceſſively kings of England; and five daughters, viz. Cecilia, who became a nun; Conſtance, who was married to the duke of Brittany; Agatha, contracted to king Harold in her infancy, and afterwards to Alphonſo king of Galicia, but died, before marriage, in her way to Spain; Alice who died young, and Adela, married to Stephen earl of Blois[62]. William is ſaid to have been ſo much affected with the death of his queen, that he relinquiſhed all his former amuſements; but the truth is, that the few remaining years of his life were ſo full of alarms, toils, and dangers, that he could have little leiſure or inclination for amuſement.

A.D.1084. Threatened invaſion from Denmark. The greateſt uneaſineſs of the Conqueror at this time proceeded from the intelligence he received, that Canute IV. king of Denmark, was making prodigious preparations for invading England, in which he was to be aſſiſted by Robert Le Friſon earl of Flanders, with ſix hundred ſhips[63]. To repel this dreaded invaſion, he collected a great army, not only of Normans, but of adventurers from all the neighbouring countries; brought them over to England, and quartered them upon his Engliſh ſubjects along

[62] Orderic. Vital. p. 638. W. Malmſ. p. 63.
[63] W. Malmſ. p. 60.

the

the ſea-coaſts, where they continued ſeveral months, committing many acts of oppreſſion on the unhappy Engliſh, who were alſo loaded with a grievous tax, for the pay of their oppreſſors [64]. At length William was relieved from his apprehenſions by the welcome news, that Canute, diſcouraged by contrary winds, and diſſenſions among his nobles, had relinquiſhed his intended expedition: on which he diſmiſſed his mercenary ſoldiers, to the great joy of his ſubjects. A.D. 1084.

Though there was no open war, there was no cordial peace between the kings of France and England at this time; and the great barons on the borders of their reſpective territories, made deſtructive inroads on each others lands. This irregular kind of war continued while William was in England, to the diſadvantage of his ſubjects. Hubert de Beaumont, a famous partiſan of thoſe times, killed ſeveral Norman barons, and enriched himſelf with their ſpoils [65]. The Conqueror, reſolving to viſit his dominions on the continent to put a ſtop to theſe depredations, ſummoned all his prelates, nobles, and knights, to meet him at Saliſbury on the firſt of Auguſt; where he obliged them to renew their oaths of fealty, and extorted from them great ſums of money; with which he ſoon after ſailed for Normandy, carrying with him Edgar Atheling, who was ſtill an object of his jealouſy, and of the affections of the Engliſh [66]. A.D. 1086. William viſits Normandy.

[64] Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 212.
[65] Orderic. Vital. p. 648.
[66] Chron. Saxon. p. 187.

A.D. 1087. Death of William.

The miſunderſtanding which had long ſubſiſted in ſecret between the Conqueror and Philip king of France, now broke out into an open war, occaſioned, as it is ſaid, by a witticiſm of that king, who hearing that William, who was now become very corpulent, had been ſome weeks confined by ſickneſs, ſaid, "He hoped his "brother of England would ſoon be delivered "of his great belly, and be able to come "abroad." This ſarcaſm being reported to William, put him into a violent paſſion, and made him ſwear, "by the brightneſs and reſur- "rection of God (his uſual oath), that as ſoon "as he came abroad he would light up a thou- "ſand fires in France for the joy of his re- "covery[67]." Nor did he neglect to execute this threat. For in the laſt week of July, when the corns and fruits were all ripe, he entered France at the head of a powerful army, deſtroying every thing as he advanced; and having taken the town of Mante, he commanded it to be ſet on fire and reduced to aſhes. But here a ſtop was put to his deſtructive career. For being overheated by the warmth of the weather and flames of the town, and having received a bruiſe in his belly by the pummel of his ſaddle, he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, of which he died at the abbey of St. Gervais near Rouen, September 9, in the ſixty-third year of his age, and the twenty-firſt year of his reign over England[68]. He enjoyed the

[67] M. Paris, p. 9. M. Weſtminſt. p. 230.
[68] Orderic. Vital. p. 655.

full

full exercise of his reason during his sickness, A.D. 1087. made his will with great deliberation, bequeathing his dominions on the continent to Robert his eldest son, the kingdom of England to his second son William, and a sum of money to his youngest son Henry. To appease the reproaches of his conscience for the cruelties which he had committed, he commanded all the state-prisoners to be released, directed great sums of money to be distributed to the churches and the clergy, and practised all the other tricks of superstition that were then in vogue. He also entertained his courtiers with long discourses on the vanity of worldly greatness; of which they gave the strongest proof, by every one of them abandoning his remains as soon as he expired [69].

His character.

William I. commonly called *the Conqueror*, was strong, healthy, and graceful in his person, though his countenance was rather stern than gracious; and he became corpulent in the latter part of his life. He excelled in riding, shooting with the bow, and in all martial and manly exercises. His passion for hunting was excessive, in gratifying which he was guilty of the most horrid cruelties. He had ambition and boldness to attempt, and courage and wisdom to execute, the most arduous enterprises, of which his conquest of England is a sufficient proof. He was religious according to the mode of the times in which he lived, and treated the clergy with great respect

[69] Orderic. Vital. p. 655.

A.D.1087. when they did not oppoſe his will. Temperance and chaſtity were his greateſt virtues; ambition, avarice, and cruelty, his moſt pernicious vices. His government was harſh, arbitrary, and tyrannical, eſpecially to his Engliſh ſubjects; who were reduced ſo low, that before the end of his reign, there was not ſo much as one Engliſhman who was either earl, baron, biſhop, or abbot. In a word, William the Conqueror was one of the greateſt generals and politicans, but one of the moſt tyrannical and cruel kings that ever ſat on the throne of England [70].

Succeſſion and coronation of William II.

William, ſurnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the colour of his hair, ſecond ſurviving ſon of the Conqueror, who was preſent with his father on his death-bed, having obtained his nomination to the crown of England, with a letter of recommendation to Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury, did not ſtay to pay the laſt duties to his expiring parent, but haſtened over the ſea to take poſſeſſion of the crown. As ſoon as he arrived in England, he got poſſeſſion of his father's treaſures at Wincheſter, and of the moſt important fortreſſes on the coaſt; and his cauſe being warmly eſpouſed by Lanfranc, by whom he had been educated and knighted in his youth, he was crowned at Weſtminſter, September 27, by that prelate, aſſiſted by the archbiſhop of York, eight other biſhops, and many of the chief nobility [71].

[70] Chron. Saxon. p. 190, 191. W. Malmſ. p. 63. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 212, 213. Ingulph. p. 70.

[71] Orderic. Vital. p. 659. W. Malmſ. l. 4. p. 68.

After

After his coronation he returned to Wincheſter, to take a more particular account of his father's treaſures, which he found to amount to ſixty thouſand pounds in money, equal in weight of ſilver to one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, and in efficacy to nine hundred thouſand pounds of our money; beſides gold and ſilver plate, jewels, and other precious effects, to a much greater value. With ſome part of this money he paid the legacies which had been left by his father to the churches, the clergy, and the poor; by which he gained popularity to himſelf, as well as ſhewed a regard to the will of a parent, to whoſe affection he had been ſo much indebted [72]. A.D. 1087.

Though the coronation of Rufus had not been openly oppoſed, it was ſecretly diſliked by many of the chief nobility, who knew his fierce imperious character; and having great eſtates in Normandy, as well as in England, were ſenſible that it would be impoſſible to preſerve them both, if theſe two countries continued under different ſovereigns, who would often be at variance. Theſe nobles therefore (of whom Odo biſhop of Bayeux, Robert earl of Mortain, the two maternal brothers of the late king, Euſtace earl of Boulogne, and Robert de Beleſme, were the chief), being then in Normandy, formed a conſpiracy for dethroning William, and raiſing his elder brother Robert duke of Normandy to the throne of England. They communicated A.D. 1088. Conſpiracy againſt William II.

[72] Chron. Saxon. p. 192. Brompt. p. 983.

A.D.1088. their deſigns to Robert, who encouraged them to proceed, and promiſed to ſupport them with a powerful army. The conſpirators came over to England in the end of the laſt and the beginning of this year, to increaſe their party, and prepare for the execution of their plot. In the firſt of theſe intentions they were not unſucceſsful, prevailing upon many, and, amongſt others, upon William biſhop of Durham, the king's greateſt favourite, to enter into their views. The conſpirators thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong, began to give intimations of their deſigns, by collecting their followers, and fortifying their caſtles, rather too ſoon; which was one great cauſe of their miſcarriage [73].

That conſpiracy is fruſtrated.

William, juſtly alarmed at this formidable combination againſt him, exerted all his vigour to defeat his enemies, and preſerve the crown he had obtained. Obſerving that the greateſt part of the Normans were engaged in the conſpiracy, he had recourſe to the Engliſh, who ſtill conſtituted the body of the people; and by fair promiſes of reviving their ancient laws, and of allowing them the liberty of hunting in the royal foreſts, he perſuaded thirty thouſand of them to eſpouſe his cauſe. With theſe, and ſuch Norman barons as adhered to him, he took the field, and in one campaign reduced the caſtles of Tunbridge, Pevenſey, and Rocheſter; in the

73 Orderic. Vital. p. 666. Chron. Saxon. p. 193. W. Malmſ. l. 4. p. 68.

laſt

laſt of which Odo biſhop of Bayeux, Euſtace earl of Boulogne, Robert de Beleſme, and other chiefs of the conſpiracy, fell into his hands. At firſt he reſolved to make them feel the utmoſt rigour of the law; but was at laſt ſo much ſoftened by the earneſt intreaties of ſome of their friends, who had been faithful to him, that he ſpared their lives, allowed them to retire into Normandy, and contented himſelf with confiſcating their eſtates, which were of great value. Some of theſe eſtates he beſtowed upon his friends who had aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs, and others he retained in his own poſſeſſion. The duke of Normandy had made a feeble attempt to ſupport his partiſans, by ſending a ſmall fleet, with ſome troops, to their aſſiſtance; but they were intercepted and defeated by the Engliſh fleet [74]. A.D. 1088.

By the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion Rufus was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of England, and ſoon forgot all his promiſes to the unhappy Engliſh, who had contributed ſo much to his eſtabliſhment. The reſtoration of their ancient laws and liberties was no more heard of; and inſtead of allowing them to hunt in the royal foreſts, to do it was made a capital crime [75]. He was not ſo apt to forget injuries as benefits; and retaining a lively reſentment againſt his brother Robert, in whoſe behalf the late conſpiracy had been formed, he determined to be revenged, by depriving him A.D. 1089. Expedition into Normandy propoſed.

74 Chron. Saxon. p. 193, 194, 195. Orderic. Vital. p. 167, 168. W. Malmſ. p. 68.

75 W. Malmſ. l. 4. p. 70.

A.D.1089. of his dominions. To facilitate the execution of this deſign, he corrupted the governors of ſeveral ſtrong places in Normandy, particularly of St. Valori and Albemarle, who admitted Engliſh garriſons into theſe towns [76]. He alſo held an aſſembly of his great barons at Wincheſter, to whom he propoſed an expedition into Normandy, to revenge the attempt which had been made to deprive him of his crown; and the propoſal was favourably entertained [77].

A.D.1090. State of Normandy. Normandy at this time was a ſcene of great confuſion, occaſioned by the imprudence and indolence of its ſovereign, and the turbulence of its nobility, who made war againſt each other, as if they had been independent princes. To complete the miſeries of that unhappy country, the province of Maine revolted, and attempted to ſhake off the Norman yoke, which it had always borne with reluctance [78]. Robert, conſcious of his inability to reduce his own ſubjects to obedience, and reſiſt the threatened invaſion from England, implored the protection of Philip king of France; who eſpouſed his cauſe, and marched at the head of an army to his relief. But of this protection he was ſoon deprived by the intrigues of his brother William, who, by a great bribe, prevailed upon Philip to abandon Robert, and return with his army into his own dominions [79].

[76] R. Hoveden, p. 265.
[77] Orderic. Vital. p. 680.
[78] Id. p. 683.
[79] Annal. Waverlien. p. 137, R. Hoveden, p. 265.

Rufus,

Rufus, having in the preceding year paved the way for the conqueſt of Normandy, by gaining many of its nobility to his party, ſailed into that country with an army about Candlemas this year, with a deſign to complete the work. At his landing he was met by many Norman barons, who having great eſtates in England and in Normandy, were very deſirous of ſuch an agreement between the two brothers as might ſecure them in the poſſeſſion of their fortunes in both countries. At their earneſt interceſſion, a negotiation was ſet on foot, and at laſt a peace concluded on the following terms:—That the king of England ſhould keep the county of Ew, the towns of Fiſchamp, Albemarle, and all other places of which he had got poſſeſſion; in return for which the barons of Robert's party ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates in England, and William ſhould aſſiſt Robert to reduce the province of Maine and the reſt of Normandy to his obedience. By another article it was declared, that if either of the two brothers died without iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to his whole dominions [80]. This peace was guaranteed by twelve of the moſt powerful barons of each party, who ſolemnly ſwore to ſee it faithfully obſerved. A.D. 1091. Peace made between William and Robert.

No perſon had ſo much reaſon to be diſſatisfied with this peace, as prince Henry, the Conqueror's youngeſt ſon; who, by the firſt article, ſaw himſelf in danger of being ſtript of the Co- Prince Henry beſieged by his two brothers.

[80] Chron. Saxon. p. 197. R. Hoveden, p. 265.

A.D.1091. tentin, a country of Normandy, which he had purchaſed from his brother Robert with a part of the money left him by his father; and by the ſecond article, he beheld himſelf deprived of all hopes of ſucceeding either to Normandy or England, on the demiſe of one of his brothers without heirs. This young prince being brave and reſolute, determined to defend his property; and collecting ſome troops who were willing to follow his fortunes, he ſeized and fortified Mount St. Michael, reſolving to defend it to the laſt extremity. His two ungenerous and too powerful brothers having reduced all the reſt of the Cotentin, came and laid ſiege to the place where he had taken ſhelter. In the courſe of this ſiege the king of England was thrown from his horſe, and on the point of being ſlain by a common trooper. The place was defended with great obſtinacy; but the beſieged, after ſuffering great hardſhips from thirſt and hunger, were obliged to ſurrender from a total failure of their proviſions, and were allowed to go where they pleaſed. After this the unfortunate Henry wandered from place to place for ſome time, with a few faithful friends, without any ſettled reſidence or means of ſupport [81].

A.D.1092, and 1093. Rupture between William and Robert.

After the pacification above mentioned, and the reduction of the Cotentin, Robert duke of Normandy came into England with his brother

[81] Chron. de Mailroſs, p. 161. T. Radborn, p. 264. W. Malmſ. p. 69. Orderic. Vital. p. 697.

William,

William, and assisted him in his war with Malcolm king of Scotland, which will be more particularly related in the history of that country. This harmony between the two brothers was not of long duration. For Robert, discovering that his brother still continued his intrigues on the continent, and endeavoured to increase his party among the Norman barons, left England in discontent about Christmas A. D. 1092, and returned into his own dominions. Rufus falling dangerously ill at Gloucester in the following Lent, was seized with great remorse for his vices, and particularly for his tyrannical and oppressive government; and made many solemn promises of amendment; which were all forgotten as soon as he recovered [82]. A.D. 1093.

Duke Robert, after his return into his own country, discovered so many machinations of his brother William to debauch his subjects and disturb his government, that he was greatly irritated, and sent him an angry message, demanding his immediate appearance in Normandy to fulfil the conditions of the late treaty. William complied with this requisition, and went over to the continent in the spring; but with no good intention. The two brothers had an interview in presence of the lords of both parties who had sworn to see the late agreement performed by their respective sovereigns. This interview terminated in an open breach; for which William A.D. 1094. Hostilities commenced.

[82] Chron. Saxon. p. 198, 199.

was

A.D.1094. was univerſally condemned. That ambitious prince, thinking he had now found an opportunity of completing the ruin of his unhappy brother, by attacking him when he was at variance with many of his ſubjects, immediately began hoſtilities, by ſeizing ſome caſtles. But Robert was reſcued from this imminent danger, by the interpoſition of the king of France, who marched an army to his relief; and by news from England, which obliged William to abandon his enterpriſe, and return into that kingdom [83].

A.D.1095. Conſpiracy diſcovered and ſuppreſſed.

A dangerous conſpiracy had been formed in his abſence by Robert de Moubray earl of Northumberland, William earl of Ew, Roger de Lacey, and ſeveral other great barons, to dethrone him, and to raiſe his couſin Stephen earl of Aumale to the throne. William, naturally alert and keen, marched an army with great expedition into the north, by which he ſurpriſed ſome of the chief conſpirators in Newcaſtle, and took the earl of Northumberland's brother at Tinmouth. The earl himſelf was beſieged in his caſtle of Bamburgh; and attempting to make his eſcape, he was taken and thrown into priſon at Windſor; where he lived in confinement no leſs than thirty years. Some of the other conſpirators were hanged, and others mutilated, and all their great eſtates confiſcated [84].

[83] M. Paris, p. 12. col. 2. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 214.
[84] R. Hoveden, p. 267. W. Malmſ. l. 4. p. 78.

Robert

Robert duke of Normandy was seized with the epidemic frenzy of croisading, which about this time broke out in Europe, and, with several other princes, resolved to engage in an expedition into the East, for rescuing the city of Jerusalem, and the Holy Land, out of the hands of the Turks. To procure money for putting this rash design in execution, he proposed to mortgage his duchy three (some say five) years, to his brother William, for ten thousand marks. William joyfully accepted the proposal, extorted the money from his subjects in England, chiefly from the clergy, carried it over, paid it to his brother, and received the valuable pledge [85]. A.D. 1096. Robert mortgages his dominions to William.

William, having taken possession of Normandy, came over into England about Easter, and made an unsuccessful expedition into Wales, in which he lost a great number of men, as he had done in some former expeditions. Tired with these fruitless attempts to reduce the Welsh, he commanded several castles to be built on the borders to check their incursions into England, and returned into Normandy in November, where his presence was wanted [86]. A.D. 1097. Expedition into Wales.

His possession of Normandy involved William in wars with the king of France, and other neighbouring princes, who had seized certain territories which he pretended belonged to that A.D. 1098. War with France.

[85] Eadmer. p. 35. M. Paris, p. 20. col. 2. W. Malmsf. p. 76. Orderic. Vital. p. 724.

[86] Annal. Waverlien. p. 140.

duchy.

A.D.1098. duchy. Theſe wars were carried on all this year with various ſucceſs, but without any very deciſive event, except the recovery of the province of Maine from the brave Heli de la Fleche, who had defended it with great bravery ſeveral years; but being now taken priſoner, was obliged to reſign it to regain his liberty [87].

A.D.1099. War with Heli de la Fleche.

William, after the reduction of Maine, returned into England, and kept the feſtival of Whitſuntide in Weſtminſter-hall, which he had built, and which, on account of its great dimenſions and magnificence, was an object of univerſal admiration [88]. When Heli de la Fleche was ſet at liberty, he made an offer of his ſervice to the king of England; which being rejected, he was inflamed with the moſt violent reſentment, and retired, threatening to be revenged for the indignity. William, equally fierce and haughty, inſtead of ſeizing his perſon before he was out of his reach, commanded him, with a diſdainful air, to be gone and do his worſt [89]. The indignant baron, retired to his eſtate, ſpent his time in preparing for the execution of his revenge. About the beginning of June, getting together a body of troops, he ſurpriſed the city of Mans, the capital of Maine; but could not take the caſtle. The meſſenger who was ſent to acquaint William with this event, found him hunting in the New Foreſt;

[87] Orderic. Vital. p. 767. 771.
[88] Annal. Waverlien. p. 163.
[89] Orderic. Vital. p. 773.

and

and though he was prodigiouſly fond of that diverſion, he no ſooner heard what had happened, than he put ſpurs to his horſe, and rode full ſpeed towards the ſea-coaſt, inſtantly embarked, though it blew a furious ſtorm, and landed next morning at Barfleur. From thence he proceeded with equal impetuoſity to Bonneville, joined his army, and marched towards Mans. Heli hearing of his unexpected approach, raiſed the ſiege, and retired to the ſtrong caſtle of Chateau de Loir [90]. The king, after he had deſolated the lands of his enemy, diſmiſſed his forces, and returned to England. A.D. 1099.

William duke of Guyenne, neither inſtructed nor deterred by the calamities which had befallen other princes, and their followers, who had abandoned their own country, and gone to the Holy Land, put himſelf at the head of a new army of croiſaders, and offered to mortgage his duchy to the king of England for a ſum of money, to defray the expences of his expedition. Rufus, as ambitious as he was rich, accepted the offer, provided the money, and prepared an army to take poſſeſſion of his new territories, with which he lay near the ſea-coaſt, waiting for a fair wind to waft him to the continent. On Auguſt 2, after dinner, the king, with his brother prince Henry, and a numerous retinue, went to hunt in the New Foreſt, where an event happened which put an end to all the projects of A.D. 1100. William killed.

[90] Orderic. Vital. p. 775.

A.D.1100. this reſtleſs and ambitious monarch. Towards evening, when the company were diſperſed in purſuit of their game, a buck ſuddenly ſpringing between the king and one Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman who excelled in archery, he diſcharged an arrow at him, which glancing on a tree, ſtruck his royal maſter on the breaſt, pierced his heart, and deprived him of life, almoſt without a groan[91].

His character. Thus fell William Rufus, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and fortieth of his age, when he was in perfect health, in great proſperity, and full of ſchemes for the enlargement of his dominions, the increaſe of his riches, and the gratification of his paſſions. In his perſon he was ſtrong and active, of a ſanguine complexion, red hair, a ſtern and haughty aſpect, with a ſtammering in his ſpeech, eſpecially when he was angry. In his temper he was ambitious, covetous, cruel, proud, and paſſionate; a profane ſwearer, and ſcoffer at all religion; addicted to wine and women; vain in his dreſs; delighting in the ſociety of the looſe and profligate of both ſexes. His great activity, bravery, and ſkill in war, would have been virtues, if they had not been employed in robbing his unhappy brother of his dominions, and in diſturbing all his neighbours. To his Engliſh ſubjects he was ungrateful and perfidious, violating all his promiſes,

[91] Chron. Saxon. p. 207. R. Hoveden, p. 268. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 217. M. Paris, p. 37. W. Malmſ. p. 71.

and

and trampling upon all their laws. To his soldiers, and to those who administered to his pleasures, he was profuse of that money which he had extorted from his people by the most oppressive arts. Ralph Flambard, a man of mean birth and most abandoned character, his greatest favourite, and the chief instrument of his tyranny, was raised by him to the highest honours, being bishop of Durham and chief justiciary of the kingdom [92]. It is no wonder that a prince of this odious character died unlamented. As he was never married, he left no legitimate children. A.D. 1100.

It is now time to take a transient view of such of the civil and military transactions of the other British nations as have not been already mentioned. From A.D. 1066, to A.D. 1100.

The civil and military history of Wales in that period which is the subject of this section, consists entirely of the successions of the petty princes of its several districts, their mutual wars against each other, or their predatory incursions into the English territories. A minute detail of these unimportant events would be tedious; a general one would be unsatisfactory and unintelligible: it may be better therefore to refer such of our readers as desire to be more particularly informed, to the work quoted below [93]. History of Wales.

[92] Chron. Saxon. p. 207, 208. W. Malms. l. 4. passim. Eadmerus, p. 14. 47. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 217.

[93] The History of Cambria, now called *Wales*, written in the British language, translated by H. Lloyd, and continued by D. Powel, D. D. p. 104—157.

A.D.1066, to 1100. History of Scotland.

Malcolm III. ſurnamed *Canmore*, or *Great-head*, had been peaceably ſeated on the throne of Scotland, about nine years before the landing of William duke of Normandy; and during that time had lived in peace, and even in friendſhip, with Edward the Confeſſor, by whom he had been aſſiſted in recovering the kingdom of his anceſtors from the uſurper Macbeth[94]. Many of the Engliſh nobility, who had been engaged in the unfortunate battle of Haſtings, or had been concerned in unſucceſsful inſurrections againſt the Conqueror, fled into Scotland, and were kindly received by Malcolm; eſpecially after his marriage with Margaret, ſiſter of Edgar Atheling, the favourite of the Engliſh nation, and the true heir of the Engliſh crown. At the inſtigation of theſe noble refugees, and in ſupport of the pretenſions of his brother-in-law, he made ſeveral inroads into England (the moſt conſiderable of which have been occaſionally mentioned), which were retaliated by ſimilar inroads of the Conqueror and his ſucceſſor into Scotland. In conſequence of a pacification made between William Rufus and Malcolm, in one of theſe incurſions, A. D. 1092, the king of Scotland the year after paid a viſit to the Engliſh court at Gloceſter; but met with ſuch haughty and ungracious treatment, that he returned home in diſcontent, and raiſed an army, with which he invaded England for the fifth time[95]. This

[94] See vol. 3. ch. 1. p. 165.

[95] Chron. Saxon. p. 198, 199. R. Hoveden, p. 266.

was

was a moſt unfortunate expedition; for king Malcolm, with his eldeſt ſon prince Edward, falling into an ambuſh, were both killed, November 13, A. D. 1093, by Robert Mowbray earl of Northumberland. Queen Margaret was ſo much affected with the melancholy news of the ſlaughter of her beloved huſband and favourite ſon, that ſhe died a few days after of grief. Malcolm, who was a brave and good prince, had, by his pious and amiable conſort, ſix ſons, viz. Edward, who was ſlain with his father; Edmund, who embraced a religious life; Ethelred, who died in his infancy; Edgar, Alexander, and David, who were ſucceſſively kings of Scotland; and two daughters, viz. Matilda, who was married to Henry I. king of England; and Mary, who was married to Euſtace earl of Boulogne. A.D. 1066, to 1100.

The ſurviving ſons of Malcolm being young at the time of his death, and the rules of ſucceſſion to the crown in Scotland being ſtill unſettled, it was uſurped by his brother Donald, ſurnamed *Baan* or *the White;* and the young princes Edgar, Alexander, and David, retired into England; where they were kindly entertained by their maternal uncle Edgar Atheling. Donald is ſaid to have been raiſed to the throne by that party among the Scots, who had been diſſatisfied with the late king, for his great liberality to the Engliſh exiles. In order to ſupport himſelf in his uſurpation, he ceded the weſtern iſles to Magnus king of Norway, who engaged to aſſiſt Uſurpation of Donald Baan, &c. &c.

A.D. 1066, to 1100. him againſt all his enemies. This meaſure, with ſome ſeverities exerciſed againſt thoſe who refuſed to ſwear ſubmiſſion to his authority, ſoon raiſed many malecontents, who invited Duncan, natural ſon of the late king, a brave warrior, in the ſervice of William Rufus, to come into Scotland, and attempt to dethrone the uſurper. Duncan complied with the invitation; and coming, attended by ſome Engliſh troops, and being joined by all the friends of Malcolm and his family, Donald found himſelf too weak to make a ſtand, and retired into the weſtern iſles about ſix months after his acceſſion. The greatneſs of the late conqueror of England had reflected ſo much honour on baſtardy, in which he ſeemed to glory, that it was little or no obſtruction to ſucceſſions; and Duncan was crowned king of Scotland, to the excluſion of the legitimate ſons of king Malcolm. But this prince having ſpent his whole life in camps, and being little acquainted with the conduct of civil government, and delighting moſt in the company of the Engliſh and Normans, ſoon became unpopular, and was murdered by Malpeder earl of Mearns, a friend of the late king Donald, in the caſtle of Monteith, A. D. 1095. On the news of this event, Donald left his lurking-place in the iſles; and, by the help of his partiſans, and an army of Norwegians, once more took poſſeſſion of the crown of Scotland. But he did not long enjoy this ſecond uſurpation. For Edgar Atheling, being furniſhed with a body

body of troops by William Rufus, conducted his nephew prince Edgar, the eldeſt legitimate ſon of the late king Malcolm, into Scotland, about Michaelmas A. D. 1097, defeated the uſurper, took him priſoner, and ſeated the young prince on the throne of his anceſtors[96]. A.D. 1066. to 1100.

SECTION II.

The civil and military hiſtory of Great Britain, from the acceſſion of Henry I. A. D. 1100, *to the acceſſion of Henry* II. A. D. 1154.

HENRY, the youngeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, was in another part of the New Foreſt purſuing his game, when his brother William was killed; and no ſooner heard of that event, than he put ſpurs to his horſe, and galloped to Wincheſter to ſeize the royal treaſure, in order to uſurp the crown; a deſign equally daring and unnatural, as he knew that his eldeſt brother Robert, who had a better title, both by primogeniture, and by a ſolemn compact with the laſt poſſeſſor, ratified by the chief nobility, was alive, and on his return from the Holy Land, crowned with laurels. William de Breteuil, the keeper of the royal treaſure, was alſo in the field, and, ſuſpecting what might A.D. 1100. Prince Henry uſurps the crown.

[96] Chron. Saxon. p. 199. 206. Buchanan Hiſt. l. 7. p. 199. Boeth. Scot. Hiſt. l. 12, p. 269. Fordun. Scot. Chron. l. 5. c. 21—24.

A.D.1100. happen, rode to Wincheſter with equal ſpeed. At his arrival he found prince Henry demanding the keys of the treaſury, with many threats; and boldly interpoſed, declaring, that both the treaſure and the crown belonged to Robert his elder brother, to whom both he and the prince had ſworn fealty, and that for his uſe he was determined to keep what had been committed to his charge. The prince, ſenſible that if he failed in this attempt, he could not hope for ſucceſs in his chief deſign, drew his ſword, and threatened immediate death to any who ſhould oppoſe him; and being ſupported by ſome nobles who eſpouſed his cauſe, he got poſſeſſion of all the treaſure; with which he haſtened to London, the capital of the kingdom[1]. Here, by great gifts, and greater promiſes, he made ſo many friends, that he was crowned at Weſtminſter by Maurice biſhop of London, on Sunday 5th Auguſt, in leſs than three days after his brother's death[2]. So eager was he to ſeize the glittering prize, and ſo well had he employed his time.

Popular meaſures of king Henry I.

Though Henry had thus obtained the crown by his courage and celerity, he was ſenſible that he could not keep it without the affections of his people, to gain which he employed every imaginable art of popularity. He recalled Anſelm archbiſhop of Canterbury, the idol of the

[1] Orderic. Vital. p. 782. Simeon Dunelm. col. 225. R. de Diceto, col. 498. J. Brompt. col. 997.

[2] Simeon Dunelm. col. 225. R. de Diceto, col. 498.

clergy,

clergy, from his exile: he publiſhed a royal charter, full of the moſt captivating promiſes of redreſſing all the wrongs of the two preceding reigns, reviving the laws of Edward the Confeſſor, and granting all the immunities that the greateſt friends of liberty and of their country could deſire: he ſeized Ralph Flambard biſhop of Durham, the deteſted inſtrument of his brother's oppreſſions, and threw him into priſon; and effectually to engage the hearts of the native Engliſh, who were yet a diſtinct people from the Normans, he married the princeſs Matilda, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, ſiſter of Edgar the reigning king of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Atheling. Beſides all this, he baniſhed from court all the profligate companions of his brother's pleaſures, ſet many priſoners of ſtate at liberty, and remitted many debts that were owing to the crown [3]. By theſe means his government became very agreeable, eſpecially to the clergy and the common people, who felt a ſenſible difference between his mild adminiſtration and the tyranny of the late reign. A.D. 1100.

Henry ſoon found both the neceſſity and advantage of his popularity. For his injured brother Robert returned from the Holy Land about a month after his acceſſion, was joyfully received by all his Norman ſubjects, and encouraged to attempt the recovery of the crown of England. A.D. 1101. England invaded by Robert duke of Normandy.

3 M. Paris, p. 38, 39. Chron. Saxon, p. 208, 209. W. Malmſ. l. 5. p. 88. R. Hoveden, p. 269.

To

A.D. 1101. To this he was alſo invited by Robert de Beleſme earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, and his two brothers Roger and Arnulf, William de Warenne earl of Surrey, Walter Giffard, Yvo de Grentmeſnil, and ſeveral other Engliſh barons, who promiſed to join him with all their followers [4]. He was further animated to this undertaking by the famous Ralph Flambard, who made his eſcape out of the tower of London, got over into Normandy, and became as great a favourite with Robert as he had been with Rufus [5]. Spurred on by reſentment and ambition, and encouraged by the probability of ſucceſs, Robert ſpent the winter and ſpring in making preparations for invading England. Henry was ſtill more active in preparing for his defence, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the clergy, and the common people, eſpecially the native Engliſh. Anſelm archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom he paid great court, eſpouſed his cauſe with much warmth, attended him in all his motions, and confirmed many in his intereſt, who were wavering, by threatening them with the wrath of heaven, and the thunders of the church, if they revolted. He even became ſurety for Henry, to the barons of his party, that he would never break any of his promiſes, or revoke any of the liberties he had granted, and thereby kept them ſteady in their attachment [6]. In the mean time Henry fitted out a

4 Oderic. Vital. p. 785, 786.

5 Id. ibid.

6 Eadmer. Hiſt. p. 59.

fleet

fleet to cruiſe on the coaſt of Normandy; but the greateſt part of the ſhips were carried over to his brother by their commanders[7]. He alſo raiſed an army, compoſed chiefly of the native Engliſh, with a few Norman barons and their followers, with which he marched to Pevenſey, about Midſummer, imagining the invaſion would have been attempted at that place; but hearing that Robert had landed at Portſmouth, July 19th, and had been joined by his partizans, he directed his march that way[8]. A.D. 1101.

Peace between Henry and Robert.

The two armies, at their approach, being nearly equal, and ſtruck with mutual awe, ſtood facing each other ſeveral days without coming to action. This gave the archbiſhop and ſome barons of both parties, who were anxious about the event of a battle, and deſirous of a peace, an opportunity of ſetting a treaty on foot, which terminated in an accommodation on the following terms. Robert relinquiſhed his pretenſions to the crown of England for an annual penſion of three thouſand marks. All the barons of both parties were reſtored to all their eſtates and honours in Normandy and England. Henry gave up to Robert all the places which he held in Normandy; and it was ſtipulated, that if either of the brothers died without legitimate male iſſue, the other ſhould ſucceed to all his domi-

[7] Chron. Saxon. p. 209.
[8] Orderic. Vital. p. 787. Simeon Dunelm. col. 226.

nions.

c

A.D.1101. nions[9]. This peace, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, was guaranteed by twelve of the moſt powerful barons of each party[10]. After this pacification, both armies were diſbanded; and Robert having ſpent about two months with his brother in great feſtivity, returned into Normandy.

A.D 1102. Henry ruins the barons of his brothers party.

Though the barons of Robert's party were reſtored to their eſtates in England by the late treaty, they were not reſtored to the favour of their ſovereign, who ſecretly reſolved to embrace the firſt opportunity of accompliſhing their deſtruction. He began with Robert de Beleſme earl of Shrewſbury and Arundel, who was at once the moſt powerful and moſt diſaffected. That nobleman, after the late pacification, retired to his eſtates, and applied himſelf with great vigour to the fortifying his old caſtles, and building new ones; which furniſhed the king with a pretence to commence hoſtilities againſt him; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that in a ſhort campaign of three weeks, he took all his caſtles, and obliged him to retire into Normandy[11]. Soon after his two brothers were alſo baniſhed; and all the other barons who had joined Robert on his invaſion, were, by various means, and under various pretences, either ruined or very much reduced[12].

9 Chron. Saxon. p. 209, 210. Orderic. Vital. p. 788. M. Paris, p. 40. R. Hoveden, p. 269.
10 J. Brompt. col. 998.
11 R. Hoveden, p. 269.
12 Orderic. Vital. p. 804. 808.

Theſe

Theſe ſeverities exerciſed towards his friends, excited the moſt violent emotions of anger in the boſom of the honeſt-hearted but imprudent Robert, who came into England to expoſtulate with his too artful brother on his breaches of their late treaty. But he ſoon found reaſon to repent of this inconſiderate ſtep. For though he was decently received, he obſerved that he was carefully watched in all his motions, which made him dread the loſs of his liberty, for which he had made no previous ſtipulations. To extricate himſelf out of this dangerous ſituation, he reſigned his penſion of three thouſand marks to the queen of England; on which he was permitted to retire, and returned into Normandy, covered with ſhame, and tormented with vexation at his own raſhneſs [13]. A.D. 1103. Robert viſits England.

Normandy, at this time, was a ſcene of great confuſion, through the indolence, imprudence, prodigality, and ill government of its ſovereign, who had loſt all authority. The great barons made war againſt each other, and deſolated the country with fire and ſword. This procured an invitation, from ſeveral Norman barons, to king Henry to come over, in order to put a ſtop to theſe confuſions, and reſtore peace to that unhappy country. He joyfully accepted of this invitation, and went into Normandy about Midſummer, attended by a body of troops. At his arrival he was waited upon by many of the greateſt A.D. 1104. Henry viſits Normandy, and returns to England.

[13] Orderic. Vital. p. 805. Chron. Saxon. p. 211.

Norman

A.D.1104. Norman barons, who complained bitterly of the miſconduct of their own prince, and implored his protection. He received them in the kindeſt manner, and, by his promiſes and liberalities, gained them to enter into his views of depriving his unhappy brother of his dominions. He had alſo an interview with Robert, in which he reproached him, in very ſtrong terms, for his errors in government, and the miſeries which he had thereby brought upon his country. In this interview he obtained from him the ſovereignty of the county of Evreux, and the homage of its count. Having thus humbled and weakened his brother, ſtrengthened his own party, and paved the way for the reduction of Normandy, he returned into England [14].

A.D.1105, and 1106. Expedition into Normandy,

After ſpending the winter in this kingdom, Henry raiſed an army in the ſpring, with which he paſſed over to Normandy about the end of Lent, and being joined by the Norman barons of his party, he took the field, and proceeded to hoſtilities, under the hypocritical pretence of defending the churches from violence, and correcting the diſorders of the government [15]. In this campaign he took the city of Bayeux by ſtorm, after a long ſiege; and had the city of Caen ſurrendered to him by the inhabitants: but meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance from the gar-

[14] Orderic. Vital. p. 814.

[15] Orderic. Vital. p. 816. Simeon Dunelm. col. 229. J. Brompt. col. 1001.

riſon of Falaiſe, and winter approaching, he raiſed the ſiege, and returned into England; which was at this time greviouſly haraſſed with exactions of various kinds, to raiſe money for executing the king's ambitious projects [16]. A.D. 1105, and 1106.

The unhappy duke of Normandy, conſcious of his inability to defend himſelf againſt the king of England, aſſiſted by ſo many of his own diſaffected ſubjects, paid a viſit to the Engliſh court this winter, in hopes of ſoftening his brother's heart by his expoſtulations. But finding that theſe hopes were altogether groundleſs, he returned into Normandy, much diſſatisfied with his reception, and determined to prepare for his defence [17]. Henry ſpent the ſpring and part of the ſummer of this year in England, regulating the affairs of his kingdom, and making preparations for the total reduction of Normandy; into which he ſailed about the end of July, and inveſted the caſtle of Tinchebray. The duke of Normandy, with the aſſiſtance of the earl of Mortaigne, Robert de Beleſme, and ſome other barons, had raiſed a conſiderable army, with which he advanced to attempt the relief of that important place. This brought on a battle, September 28th, which was fought with great bravery and doubtful ſucceſs for ſome time; but at laſt, by his ſuperiority of numbers, and the valour of the Engliſh, Henry obtained a complete victory, and took his brother Robert, A.D. 1106. Henry conquers Normandy.

[16] Chron. Saxon. p. 212.

[17] Id. p. 213.

Edgar

A.D.1106. Edgar Atheling, and many other noble perſons, priſoners [18]. This victory determined the fate of Normandy, and the gates of all its caſtles, towns, and cities, were thrown open to the conqueror. In the caſtles of Falaiſe he found William, the infant ſon and heir of his brother, and committed him to the cuſtody of Helie de St. Saen, who had married a natural daughter of duke Robert. About the middle of October, Henry held an aſſembly of the prelates, barons, and military tenants of the duchy, at Liſieux, in which he reſumed all the lands which had been granted by his brother, and made ſome good regulations for preventing robberies, and reſtoring order and good government [19].

A.D.1107. Henry commits his brother Robert, &c. to priſon.

Henry having completed the conqueſt, and regulated the affairs of Normandy, conducted his captive brother, and other noble priſoners, into England, in the ſpring of this year. Determined to keep what he had acquired, he committed duke Robert, and his couſin and moſt powerful friend the earl of Mortaigne, to priſon; nor could any intreaty ever prevail upon him to ſet either of them at liberty. The former, after a tedious confinement of almoſt twenty-eight years, died in the caſtle of Cardiff in Glamorganſhire, A. D. 1134 [20]. The imbecility of Edgar Athe-

[18] Simeon Dunelm. col. 230. J. Brompt. 1002. Chron. Saxon. p. 214. Orderic. Vital. p. 821.

[19] Orderic. Vital. p. 822.

[20] Annal. Waverlien. p. 144. 151. W. Malmſ. l. 5. p. 89. M. Paris, p. 43. c. 1.

ling

ling procured him a milder fate: being ſet at liberty, he retired into the country; where he ſunk into ſo great obſcurity, that the time and other circumſtances of his death are not preſerved in hiſtory [21]. A.D.1107.

Henry I. was now in the zenith of his proſperity, being in the prime of life, the richeſt, the moſt reſpected, and moſt powerful prince in Europe; and yet he was far from being happy. At ſome ſeaſons he was tormented with remorſe for the injuries he had done his unhappy brother, though he was not diſpoſed to remove that remorſe by repairing thoſe injuries, but by building abbeys, which ſome of our monkiſh hiſtorians inſinuate was the moſt effectual way of making peace with conſcience [22]. His chief uneaſineſs, however, was occaſioned by William, the infant ſon of Robert, who, he apprehended, might one day find friends to enable him to aſſert his rights, and take vengeance on him for his own and for his father's ſufferings. To prevent this, and get the perſon of the prince within his power, he ſent Robert de Beauchamp, with a body of horſe, to ſurpriſe the caſtle of St. Saen, and ſeize the prince in the abſence of his guardian. But this plot miſcarried by the vigilance and fidelity of the ſervants, who fled with their precious charge, and delivered him in ſafety to his faithful guardian. Henry was ſo ungenerous as to confiſcate all the eſtates of Helie de St. Saen; which ob- A.D.1108. William, his brother's ſon, preſerved from Henry.

[21] W. Malmſ. p. 59. col. 1.

[22] M. Paris, p. 42, col. 2.

A.D 1108. liged that nobleman to wander from one court to another with his royal pupil, who was every where admired for the beauty of his perſon, and pitied for the ſeverity of his fate [23].

A.D.1109. Henry's daughter Matilda married. The fame of Henry's proſperity, power, and riches, was ſo great, that Henry V. emperor of Germany, ſent ambaſſadors to demand his only daughter Maude, or Matilda, a princeſs of eight years of age, in marriage. The treaty was ſoon concluded, the princeſs was ſolemnly affianced, and her marriage-portion, raiſed by a tax of three ſhillings on every hide of land in England, was paid to the ambaſſadors; who conducted her the year after into Germany, to be educated in the Imperial court [24].

A.D.1111, to 1113. Henry ſpends two years in Normandy. The effect of the intrigues of Helie de St. Saen in favour of his pupil now began to appear; and ſeveral of the neighbouring princes diſcovered a diſpoſition to diveſt Henry of his foreign dominions, which obliged him to make a voyage to the continent for their protection [25]. He continued in Normandy about two years, conſtantly engaged in wars or negociations with the king of France and Fulk earl of Anjou, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of his oppreſſed unhappy nephew prince William. The earl of Anjou had conceived ſo great an affection for that unfortunate prince, that he not only entertained him in his court, but promiſed to give him his daughter

23 Orderic. Vital. p. 837, 838. 24 Chron. Saxon, p. 215, 216.
25 Orderic. Vital. p. 838.

Sibylla

Sibylla in marriage. Henry, alarmed at this, employed various means to prevent the intended match; and at laſt, finding all others would be ineffectual, he propoſed a marriage between one of the earl's daughters and his own only ſon, prince William, the heir of all his dominions. This proved too ſtrong a temptation to the earl of Anjou, who broke the contract between his daughter and William the ſon of Robert, on pretence of their conſanguinity; and immediately contracted another of his daughters, named *Matilda*, to William the ſon of Henry, who ſtood exactly in the ſame relation. This contract produced a peace between Henry and the earl, which was ſoon after followed by a perſonal interview between the kings of France and England, in which all their diſputes were compromiſed[26]. The faithful Helie de St. Saen, ſeeing his pupil abandoned by his moſt powerful protectors, retired with him to the court of Baldwin earl of Flanders, where he was kindly received and entertained. A.D. 1111, to 1113.

Henry, having diſſipated the ſtorm that threatened him in his foreign dominions, returned into England in the month of July A.D. 1113, and enjoyed an uncommon degree of tranquillity for five years, reſiding ſometimes in England and ſometimes in Normandy, as his affairs required. To ſecure the ſucceſſion of all his dominions to his only legitimate ſon prince William, was the A.D. 1113, to 1118. Five years of tranquillity.

[26] Orderic. Vital, p. 838.

A.D. 1113, to 1118.

great object of his attention in this peaceful period. With this view he went over into Normandy in the end of September A. D. 1114, and obliged all the prelates and barons of that country to ſwear fealty, and do homage to his ſon, as his heir and ſucceſſor in that duchy [27]. He returned again into England in July A. D. 1115, and in the month of March, the year after, held a great council of all the prelates, earls, and barons, of the kingdom, at Saliſbury; in which he acquainted them, that he was about to make a voyage into his foreign dominions; and not knowing what might befall him there, he required them to take an oath of fealty to his ſon as heir to the crown; with which requiſition all the members of that aſſembly immediately complied [28]. After Eaſter A. D. 1116, he ſailed into Normandy, where he continued no leſs than four years [29].

Henry in vain endeavours to get his brother's ſon into his hands.

Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, Henry was ſtill jealous and apprehenſive that his nephew William might one day diſpute the poſſeſſion of his dominions with himſelf, or the ſucceſſion to them with his ſon; to prevent which, he endeavoured to entice him to his court, by promiſing to give him three earldoms in England, and to educate him with as much care and tenderneſs as his own ſon. But that young

[27] Chron. Saxon. p. 218. M. Paris, p. 45. col. 2. Hen. Hunt. p. 218, col. 1. R. Hoveden, p. 271.

[28] Eadmer. l. 5. p. 117. Chron. de Mailros, p. 164.

[29] Chron. Saxon. p. 220, &c.

prince

prince did not think it safe or decent to put himself into the hands of an uncle who had supplanted his father in the throne of England, deprived him of the duchy of Normandy, and still detained him in prison [30]. A.D. 1113, to 1118.

The prosperity which Henry had for some time past enjoyed now began to be interrupted, and was succeeded by a train of very great calamities. On the first of May this year he lost his amiable and virtuous consort queen Matilda, and Robert earl of Mellent, his chief confident and most faithful friend, died on the 9th of June [31]. About the same time several circumstances concurred to excite a great number, both of foreign and domestic enemies, to conspire against him, and attempt his ruin. He had secretly assisted his nephew Theobald earl of Blois, in a revolt against his sovereign, Louis the Gros king of France; which so much irritated that monarch, that he openly espoused the cause of William, the son of the captive duke Robert, and also prevailed upon the two potent princes, Baldwin earl of Flanders, and Fulk earl of Anjou, to declare in his favour [32]. This formidable alliance against Henry was much strengthened by the accession of Amaure de Montfort, the earls of Ew and Aumale, and many other Norman barons; who having been disobliged by *him*, or obliged by his *brother*, embraced the party of his nephew A.D. 1118. and 1119. Confederacy against Henry.

[30] Orderic. Vital. p. 866.
[31] Id. p. 843.
[32] Id. l. 12. p. 842.

A.D. 1118, and 1119. William [33]. In a word, the diſaffection of the Norman nobles became ſo general, that he knew not whom to truſt. Even Euſtace earl of Breteuil, his own ſon-in-law, who had married Juliana, one of his natural daughters, joined the confederates [34]. Beſides all theſe open enemies, he was ſurrounded by ſecret traitors, who betrayed his ſecrets and formed plots againſt his life, on which a deſperate attempt was made by his own daughter Juliana counteſs of Breteuil, who diſcharged an arrow out of a croſs-bow at her father's breaſt [35].

The confederacy defeated.

In the midſt of all theſe dangers and difficulties Henry did not loſe his courage or preſence of mind. He preſerved himſelf from his ſecret enemies, by ſleeping in his armour with his ſword and ſhield by his ſide, and a guard of his moſt faithful ſervants watching in his apartment [36]. At the beginning of the war, ſeeing himſelf unequal to his enemies in the field, he wiſely kept on the defenſive, waiting for ſome favourable events, and endeavouring to divide the confederates by his intrigues. Nor was it long before ſome favourable events happened; and his intrigues began to operate. Baldwin earl of Flanders, who was one of the braveſt, moſt powerful, and inveterate of his enemies, received a mortal wound in a ſkirmiſh, of which he ſoon after died [37]. He detached the earl of

33 Orderic. Vital. l. 12. p. 843. 34 Id. ibid. p. 848.
35 Id. ibid. p. 846. 848. 36 Segur. in Vit. Lud. Groſſi, p. 308.
37 Orderic. Vital, p. 843.

Anjou

Anjou from the confederacy, by ſolemnizing the marriage between his ſon prince William and the earl's daughter, in the month of June A. D. 1119; the delay of which had been the cauſe of his diſcontent[38]. He gained over almoſt all the Norman barons who had revolted, by granting them every thing they deſired; and the king of France ſaw himſelf deſerted by all his allies. The conteſt being now more equal, Henry boldly took the field; and hearing that the French had formed the deſign of ſurpriſing the caſtle of Noyon, near Andeley, he marched towards that place, at the head of a body of five hundred horſe, and met the king of France on the plain of Brenneville, near the caſtle which he intended to ſurpriſe, at the head of four hundred of the ſame kind of troops, 20th Auguſt. A fierce encounter immediately enſued, in which prince William, ſon of duke Robert, who led the vanguard of the French, diſplayed great valour, broke the firſt ranks, and penetrated to his uncle, who received two blows on the head from William Criſpin, a valiant knight, and was only ſaved by the goodneſs of his helmet. The French did not ſecond the firſt attack with equal bravery. The party who made it were almoſt all taken priſoners; and prince William, who commanded it, being unhorſed, made his eſcape with much difficulty. The King of France, obſerving this diſaſter, and dreading to fall into A.D. 1118, and 1119.

[38] Ordric. Vital. p. 851.

A.D. 1118, and 1119. the hands of his enemy, fled with great precipitation to Andeley, where he arrived under the conduct of a peasant, having lost his way in a wood, and been separated from all his troops. This battle was more famous for the quality of the combatants (two kings, two princes, and many noblemen of the first rank being engaged in it), than for the slaughter, as only three knights were killed. This was owing to their being clad in complete armour, and more intent on taking prisoners to enrich themselves with their ransom, than on shedding blood[39]. Not long after this battle, the pope, Calixtus II. coming into France, mediated a peace between the two monarchs, which was concluded in the beginning of the next year on these conditions: —That all the castles that had been taken on both sides should be restored; and all prisoners set at liberty[40].

A.D. 1120. Prince William drowned in returning from Normandy.

Henry spent the greatest part of this year in Normandy, extinguishing every spark of disaffection, and securing still farther the succession of his beloved son (about which he was exceedingly anxious), by making the nobility renew their oaths of fealty to him as his successor[41]. He invited such of the Norman barons as had adhered to him in his late distress to accompany him into England, to receive the rewards of their fidelity; which greatly swelled his train, as well

[39] Orderic. Vital. p. 853, 854, 855.
[40] Id. ibid.
[41] W. Malms. l. 5. p. 93.

as

as occaſioned ſome delay. At length all things being in readineſs for the voyage, the king embarked at Barfleur, 25th November, towards evening, and ſailed for the Engliſh coaſt, where he arrived the next morning. One of the fineſt veſſels in the fleet, called *the White Ship*, was allotted for prince William and his retinue, which was very numerous, conſiſting of all the young nobility. The prince being detained a little after his father, ordered three caſks of wine to be given to his ſhip's crew, with which they made too free, and were many of them intoxicated when they ſailed about the cloſe of day. Thomas Fitz-Stephen, the commander, having promiſed to the prince to overtake the reſt of the fleet, crowded all his ſails, as well as plied his oars. But when the ſhip was paſſing through the water with great velocity, ſhe ſuddenly ſtruck upon a rock, called *the Catte-raze*, with ſuch violence, that ſhe ſtarted ſeveral planks, and almoſt overſet. In a moment all was terror, uproar, and confuſion. The boat was immediately let down, the prince and ſome of the prime nobility put into it; and having got clear of the ſhip, might have reached the ſhore, which was at no great diſtance. But the prince was ſo much affected with the ſhrieks of his natural ſiſter the counteſs of Perche, that he commanded the boat to put back to take her in, and ſave her life. As ſoon as the boat approached the ſhip, where deſpair had deſtroyed all diſtinctions of rank, ſuch multitudes A.D. 1120.

A.D.1120. titudes poured into it, that it inſtantly ſunk, and all on board it periſhed. In a word, of three hundred perſons on board this ſhip, of which about fifty were ſailors, eighteen were ladies of the firſt rank, the reſt, beſides the prince, and his natural brother Richard, were young noblemen and gentlemen and their neceſſary attendants, only one man eſcaped with life, to deſcribe this mournful ſcene. This was one Bertoud a butcher of Rouen, who being a ſtrong man, and warmly clothed, climbed to the top of the maſt, which enabled him to keep his head above water; where he continued all night, and was taken up next morning by ſome fiſhermen. The report of this deplorable diſaſter reached England the day after, but was carefully concealed from Henry for three days, who was all that time in a ſtate of the moſt tormenting anxiety about the ſafety of his darling ſon. At length, when the ſecret could be no longer kept, and none of the courtiers would conſent to be the meſſenger of ſuch ill news, a boy, properly inſtructed, came in all in tears, and falling at the king's feet, told him in few words, that the prince, and all on board the White Ship, were loſt. The ſtout-hearted Henry was ſo thunder-ſtruck with this dreadful news, that he ſtaggered, ſunk on the floor, and fainted away; in which ſtate he continued a conſiderable time. When he recovered from his faint, he broke out into the bittereſt lamentations, deſcribing the good qualities and great actions of his

his two ſons, and of the young nobles who had perished with them [42]. A.D. 1120.

When Henry had given vent to the violence of his grief, he gradually resumed his usual fortitude, and applied to business with his wonted ardour. The death of so many great personages, who perished with his son, put it in his power to reward his surviving friends beyond their expectations, by putting some of them into vacant offices, and marrying others to rich heiresses or wealthy widows [43]. But his chief concern was about an heir to his dominions; as his only legitimate daughter, Maude the empress, was in a distant country; and the want of an apparent heir might revive the hopes of his nephew William, of whom he was always jealous, and might give occasion to revolts. To prevent these inconveniencies, he resolved to enter into a second marriage, and executed that resolution with so much celerity, that he was married at Windsor, 29th January A. D. 1121, to Adelais, daughter of Godfrey earl of Lovaine, a lady of great beauty, who was solemnly crowned queen the day after in the same place [44]. But this marriage proving unfruitful, did not answer his expectations, nor prevent the mischiefs which he apprehended. A.D. 1121. Henry's second marriage.

Though Henry had reduced his foreign dominions to a state of great tranquillity and subjection in his late expedition, they did not continue A.D. 1121. to 1126. Confederacy against Henry defeated.

42 Ordéric. Vital. p. 868, 869, 870. W. Malmſ. l. 5. p. 94. Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 219. col. 1. R. Hoveden. p. 273.

43 Orderic. Vital. p. 870.

44 Eadmer. l. 6. p. 136, 137.

ong

A.D. 1121, to 1126. long in that condition. The Norman barons, being freed from their oaths of fealty to a ſucceſſor, by the death of the prince to whom they had been given, began to caſt their eyes towards William the ſon of Robert (whom they always loved and pitied), and to form plots in his favour. Some of thoſe in whom Henry repoſed the greateſt confidence, and on whom he had beſtowed the greateſt favours, joined in this conſpiracy; particularly Gualeran earl of Mellent, and his brother Robert, the ſons of the late earl of Mellent, his greateſt favourite. The conſpirators were much encouraged by the acceſſion of Fulk earl of Anjou, who once more embraced the intereſt of the unfortunate William, and renewed the contract of marriage between him and his daughter Sibylla. This conſpiracy was conducted with great ſecrecy for ſome time; but at length it was diſcovered by the king of England; who acted on this occaſion with his uſual ſpirit, and was attended with his uſual good fortune. Having appointed Roger biſhop of Saliſbury regent of the kingdom, he ſailed from Portſmouth on the week after Whitſuntide A. D. 1123, with a conſiderable fleet and army, arrived ſafe in Normandy; and falling upon the conſpirators before their plot was ripe for execution, he took ſeveral of their caſtles, and gained other advantages. On the 25th March A. D. 1124, William de Tancarville, the king's chamberlain, had the good fortune to ſurpriſe the earl of Mellent, Robert his brother, the earl of Evreux,

and almoſt all the chief conſpirators, as they were riding careleſsly between Beaumont and Vatteville, and took them all priſoners. This turned the ſcale entirely in favour of the king; and all the other barons who had been concerned in the revolt, haſtened to make their peace with him on the beſt terms they could procure. The earl of Anjou, ſeeing his confederates cruſhed, was alſo reconciled to him, conſenting to the diſſolution of the contract between prince William and his daughter; who, though they had been twice contracted, were never married. That ever unfortunate prince, beholding all his expectations blaſted, returned again to the court of France; where he was ſoon after married to the queen's ſiſter, and received with her the countries of Pontoiſe, Chaumont, Mante, and Vexin François, which enabled him to make ſome feeble attempts upon Normandy, and obliged the king to continue ſome time longer abroad for its defence [45]. A.D. 1121, to 1126.

While Henry reſided in Normandy, his ſon-in-law, the emperor Henry V. died, and his widow (having had no children) returned to her father's court, and was conducted by him into England, a little before Michaelmas A. D. 1126. As there was now little probability of his having any children by his preſent queen: the empreſs, of whom he had always been very fond, became A.D. 1126. The empreſs Maude declared heir to Henry.

45. Orderic. Vital. p. 876—884. Chron. Saxon. p. 223—230. M. Paris, p. 47, 48.

the

A.D.1126. the object of all his hopes and cares; and he was ardently desirous of securing to her the succession of his dominions. With this view, he held a great council of all the prelates and nobles of the kingdom at Christmas, and engaged them to swear fealty to his daughter, as his successor, in case he should happen to die without a legitimate son, or sons; and his nephew Stephen, who afterwards usurped the crown, was the first of the laity (except the king of Scotland) who swore on this occasion [46].

A.D.1127. The empress contracted to the eldest son of the earl of Anjou.

In the spring of this year the king of England received the disagreeable news of the murder of his friend Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, and of the succession of William his elder brother's son to that great earldom. Though Henry was a prince of uncommon fortitude, there were two persons whom he always dreaded; his nephew William, on account of the justice of his pretensions to his dominions, and Fulk earl of Anjou, on account of his power, and vicinity to Normandy. He had been at infinite pains to prevent an intimate connection between these two princes; and now that he more than ever dreaded their union, in order to prevent it effectually, he proposed a marriage between his only legitimate child, the empress Maude, and Geoffrey the earl's eldest son. This advantageous proposal was joyfully embraced both by the earl and his son: the empress was sent over to Normandy,

[46] W. Malms. Historiæ Novellæ, l. 1.

under

under the conduct of Robert earl of Gloceſter, A.D. 1127.
in the ſummer of this year, and the king arrived in the ſame country on 26th Auguſt following [47].

All preliminaries being ſettled, the nuptials of A.D. 1128.
the empreſs with Geoffrey Martel prince of An- Death of prince William Henry's nephew.
jou, were celebrated with great magnificence at Rouen, on the octaves of Whitſuntide, in the preſence of the king of England and the earl of Anjou. Henry, among other arts which he had employed to diſtreſs his unhappy nephew, and put it out of his power to aſſert his right to his dominions, had ſtirred up Thierry landgrave of Alſace to lay claim to the earldom of Flanders. This occaſioned a war between theſe two princes, in which William was victorious; but in a trifling ſkirmiſh, he received a wound in the hand, which brought on a mortification, of which he died in the abbey of St. Bertin, July 27th. In his laſt moments he wrote a letter to his uncle Henry, begging his pardon for all the trouble he had given him, and earneſtly intreating his favour for his faithful guardian Helie de St. Saen, and a few other friends who had adhered to him in all his fortunes [48]. The death of this brave and amiable prince, who had ſtruggled with adverſity from his cradle to his grave, put an end to all the fears and dangers of his ambi-

47 Chron. Saxon. p. 230. W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 1. Hen. Hunt. l. 7.

48 Orderic. Vital. p. 885, 886. M. Paris, p. 49, col. 1. W. Gemmiticen, l. 7. c. 16.

A.D. 1128. tious uncle, who thenceforward enjoyed a profound peace.

A.D. 1129, to 1136. Henry's death. Henry having ſpent the former part of this year in Normandy, in receiving the ſubmiſſions of the barons who had revolted, and reſtoring them to their eſtates, came over to England in harveſt, and reſided here about a year in great tranquillity. The empreſs Maude being now the great object of his affection, he made a voyage to the continent about Michaelmas A. D. 1130, to pay her a viſit; and that he might enjoy the pleaſure of her company, in which he very much delighted, he brought her with him into England at Midſummer A. D. 1131, and held a great council of the prelates and nobility in September, at Northampton, where he engaged them all to renew their oaths of fealty to her as his ſucceſſor in the throne [49].

Soon after this, the empreſs returned to her huſband, and Henry remained in England all this and the ſucceeding year. The unfruitfulneſs of his daughter's marriage had for ſome time been his chief uneaſineſs, and this was at laſt removed by the agreeable news of her being delivered of a ſon, at Le Mans, in March A. D. 1133. Tranſported with joy at this event, he celebrated his Eaſter with great feſtivity at Oxford, where all the nobility ſwore fealty once more to the empreſs, and alſo to her infant ſon named Henry [50].

[49] Chron. Saxon. p. 235, 236. Annal. Waverlien. p. 150, 151.
[50] Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 444. R. de Diceto, col. 55.

Being

Being deſirous to embrace his daughter, now more endeared to him than ever, he ſet ſail for Normandy 7th Auguſt; from whence he never returned into this kingdom, though he ſurvived three years and ſome months. The empreſs was delivered of a ſecond ſon A. D. 1134, and of a third the year after; and the aged king became ſo doatingly fond of his daughter and her children, that he could not leave them, though he was much diſpleaſed with the impatient ambition of his ſon-in-law. At laſt, having ſpent the day, November 25th, in hunting in the foreſt of Lyons, and ſupped plentifully that evening on lamprees, his favourite diſh, he was ſeized with a fever in the night, of which he died on Sunday, December 1ſt, A. D. 1135, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and thirty-ſixth of his reign [51]. A.D. 1129, to 1136.

Henry I. was in his perſon of middle ſtature, ſtrong and well-made, his hair brown and buſhy, his eyes ſerene, and his countenance agreeable. He had excellent natural parts, improved by a learned education, which procured him the ſurname of *Beauclerc*, or *the Fine ſcholar*, and made him very famous for his eloquence. In his humour he was facetious, and in his deportment affable. He was unqueſtionably the greateſt general and wiſeſt politician of the age in which he flouriſhed, and to this he was much indebted for His character.

51. Chron. Saxon. p. 237. Orderic. Vital. p. 901. W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 1. M. Paris, p. 50.

A.D. 1129, to 1136. his ſucceſs and proſperity. His moſt commendable qualities were, his tender affection for his children,—his courage,—diligence,—activity,—and ſtrictneſs in the adminiſtration of juſtice, though this laſt degenerated ſometimes into cruelty. His greateſt vices were his lewdneſs, avarice, and ambition: which were all exceſſive; as appears from the number of his natural children, of which he had ſix ſons and ſeven daughters;—from his oppreſſive taxes, and great treaſures;—and from his uſurping the kingdom of England and duchy of Normandy [52].

Stephen earl of Boulogne uſurps the crown.

Henry, in the laſt years of his life, had been at great pains to ſecure the ſucceſſion of his dominions to his only legitimate daughter Maude the empreſs, and her children. With this view he had engaged all the prelates, nobles, and great men, of England and of Normandy, to take ſolemn and repeated oaths to maintain that ſucceſſion; and they had done this with the greateſt appearance of cheerfulneſs and cordiality, eſpecially after the death of prince William, his eldeſt brother's ſon. But all theſe precautions were in vain. This was the age of ſucceſsful uſurpations. No ſooner was Henry's death made known, than a bold uſurper ſtarted up, who, to the aſtoniſhment of all the world, in violation of every right,—of his own moſt ſolemn oaths,—and of the ſtrongeſt ties of gratitude, mounted the empty throne, and ſeized

[52] W. Malmſ. l. 5. Orderic. Vital. l. 12, 13. W. Gemiticen, l. 7.

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the crown. This was Stephen earl of Boulogne, second surviving son of Stephen earl of Blois, and of Adela daughter of William the Conqueror. He was indeed one of the nephews of Henry I. but had no shadow of right to his succession while his daughter Maude, her three sons, and his own elder brother Theobald earl of Blois, were alive. He had professed himself so zealous an asserter of the rights of the empress Maude, that he had a violent contest with the king's natural son Robert earl of Gloceſter, for the honour of being the first of the laity in taking the oath to support the succession of that princess to the throne[53]. Being a younger son of no very opulent family, he had been indebted for all his wealth and power to the munificence of his uncle Henry, who had given him the earldom of Mortaigne in Normandy, the forfeited estate of Robert Mallet in this kingdom, and at last procured him the marriage of his niece, the princess Matilda, the only child of Mary of Scotland, his queen's sister, and of Eustace earl of Boulogne, in whose right he enjoyed that earldom, and all the great estates of the family in England[54]. But ambition rendered Stephen regardless of all obligations, as well as blind to all the dangers and difficulties of gaining and keeping a crown to which he had no title. The improbability and impudence of A.D 1129, to 1136.

53 W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 1. 54 W. Gemiticen, l. 7. c. 34.

A.D. 1129, to 1136. his attempt contributed not a little to its ſucceſs[55].

Stephen's coronation. Stephen was at Boulogne when he heard of his uncle's death, and from thence he haſtened into England. When he arrived at Dover, the inhabitants, ſuſpecting his intention, ſhut their gates againſt him, and he met with a ſimilar repulſe at Canterbury. Not diſcouraged with theſe unfavourable beginnings, he proceeded to London; where he was received by the lower kind of citizens, among whom he was very popular, with the loudeſt acclamations[56]. There were two perſons in England at this time without whoſe conſent it was hardly poſſible for any one to mount the throne. Theſe were, William Corboil archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Roger biſhop of Saliſbury, chief juſticiary and regent of the kingdom. Though both theſe men had been raiſed by Henry to the higheſt honours, and had been the moſt forward in taking the oaths of fealty to his daughter Maude; yet Stephen gained them to embrace his intereſt, by the aſſiſtance of his brother Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, and by artfully adapting his temptations to their tempers. William was a conſcientious, but a weak and credulous man; and therefore he made one of his creatures, Hugh Bigod, to take a ſolemn oath before him, that he had

[55] Annal. Waverlien. p. 152.

[56] Geſta Regis Stephani, apud Duchen, p. 928.

heard

heard the late king, on his death-bed, diſinherit his daughter Maude, abſolve his ſubjects from their oaths, and declare earl Stephen his ſucceſſor [57]. A moſt impudent and ſhameleſs perjury! For Henry, with his laſt breath, had appointed his daughter to ſucceed him in all his dominions in the hearing of five earls and many other nobles [58]. To the biſhop of Saliſbury, whoſe avarice and ambition were inſatiable, he promiſed every thing he choſe to aſk for himſelf or his friends, without any intention to perform what he promiſed [59]. Having by theſe arts gained theſe two great prelates, he was ſolemnly crowned and anointed king at Weſtminſter, by the archbiſhop, on December 22d. At this ceremony there were only two other biſhops, thoſe of Wincheſter and Saliſbury, not one abbot, and but very few of the ſecular barons preſent [60]. By the aſſiſtance alſo of his brother, Henry of Wincheſter, he got poſſeſſion of the late king's treaſures in that city, conſiſting of one hundred thouſand pounds in money, beſides plate and jewels to an immenſe value. With this treaſure he bribed many of the clergy and nobility to violate their oaths, and come over to his party, and took into his pay an army of ſoldiers of fortune, with which all the countries of Europe abounded at that time [61]. A.D. 1129, to 1136.

57 M. Paris, p. 51. Geſta R. Stephan. p. 929.
58 W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 1.
59 Id. ibid.
60 Id. ibid.
61 Id. ibid. p. 101.

A.D.1136. Stephen's arts of popularity.

The friends of the empreſs Maude were ſo aſtoniſhed at this unexpected revolution, that they remained ſilent and motionleſs, being deſtitute of a head or leader. For the empreſs, and her huſband Geoffrey Plantagenet, were in Anjou; and Robert earl of Gloceſter, the late king's natural ſon, the moſt virtuous, wiſe, and powerful nobleman of their party, was in Normandy, executing ſome parts of his father's laſt will. Theſe circumſtances gave Stephen an opportunity of increaſing the number of his adherents, which he improved to the beſt advantage. He had ſworn at his coronation whatever the prelates and nobles who were preſent pleaſed to dictate, and confirmed what he had ſworn by a charter, which he ratified and enlarged in a great council held at Oxford in the beginning of this year, which gained him many friends[62]. He permitted the clergy to annex this condition to their oaths of fealty, "That they would keep "their oaths as long as the king ſupported the "vigour of diſcipline;" or, in other words, as long as he allowed them to rule as they pleaſed: and he obtained a confirmation of his election from the pope; which two things brought over all the clergy to his ſide[63]. To the ſecular nobility he denied nothing that they pleaſed to aſk; and in particular, allowed them all to fortify their caſtles. A moſt pernicious grant, which was productive of infinite miſchiefs to the coun-

[62] W. Hemingford, c. 57. [63] R. Hagulſtad, p. 313, 314.

try!

try! With the common people, and with the lower citizens of London, he ingratiated himſelf by his condeſcending deportment, and a certain jocular humour, very pleaſing to them, and of incredible advantage to him on this occaſion [64]. But, notwithſtanding all theſe arts, this daring uſurpation involved the author of it, his friends, his family, and his country, in many great calamities. A.D. 1136.

David king of Scotland was the firſt who appeared to ſupport the cauſe of the empreſs his niece, by entering England with an army, in vindication of her rights. He took Carliſle and Newcaſtle, and over-run the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland; but being joined by a few of the Engliſh barons, he entered into a negotiation with Stephen, who had arrived in the north at the head of an army in the beginning of Lent. This negotiation terminated in a peace, by which Stephen ceded the county of Cumberland and city of Carliſle to the king of Scots, granted the earldom of Huntingdon to prince Henry his eldeſt ſon, and promiſed not to diſpoſe of the earldom of Northumberland till he had examined the pretenſions of that prince, who claimed it as grandſon and heir of Waltheof, the laſt Anglo-Saxon earl [65]. Stephen makes peace with David king of Scotland.

Robert earl of Gloceſter ſpent the firſt part of this year in Normandy in a ſtate of great per- Earl of Gloceſter ſubmits to Stephen.

64 W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 1. p. 102. col. 1.
65 W. Hemingford, c. 58.

A.D.1136. plexity. He was firmly attached to the intereſts of his ſiſter Maude, by inclination as well as by his oaths; but he ſoon became ſenſible, that unleſs he ſubmitted, in appearance at leaſt, to Stephen, he muſt relinquiſh all his great eſtates in England, and with them his power of promoting the cauſe which he had ſo much at heart. After long deliberation, he complied with Stephen's invitation, came over to England at Eaſter, and took the oath of fealty; but with this remarkable condition annexed, "That he ſhould be no longer "bound to keep this oath than the king kept all "his engagements to him and maintained him "in all his rights and liberties[66]:" a condition (ſays a cotemporary hiſtorian) which he well knew the king would not long obſerve[67].

A.D.1137. Stephen obtains Normandy.

The empreſs and her huſband were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. This was partly owing to the hereditary hatred which had long ſubſiſted between the Normans and Anjouvines, and partly to the deſire of the Norman barons to be under the ſame ſovereign with the Engliſh, that they might enjoy their eſtates in England. As ſoon therefore as theſe barons heard that Stephen had taken poſſeſſion of the throne of England, they invited him to come over and aſſume the ſovereignty of their duchy. After the pacification with the king of Scots, and the ſubmiſſion of the earl of Gloceſter, he

[66] M. Paris, p. 51.
[67] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 1. p. 102, col. 1.

found

found himſelf at liberty to comply with that invitation, and made a voyage into Normandy about the middle of Lent this year[68]. Soon after his arrival in that country, he had an interview with Louis le Jeune king of France; with whom he had formed an alliance, by contracting his ſon prince Euſtace to the princeſs Conſtantia the ſiſter of that king, who granted the inveſtiture of Normandy to his future brother-in-law. Stephen ſpent the reſt of this ſummer in oppoſing the attempts of Geoffrey of Anjou, who had invaded Normandy, and at laſt concluded a truce with that prince for two years, engaging to pay him an annuity of five thouſand marks. A.D. 1137.

Stephen miſcarries in his deſign to ſeize the earl of Gloceſter.

After this king Stephen employed his forces in reducing ſome caſtles, which were the haunts of robbers; but was much retarded in his progreſs by the violent animoſities that aroſe between his Norman forces and the mercenary troops he had brought with him out of England under the command of William d'Ypres, a famous adventurer of thoſe times; who alſo engaged him in another affair, in which he acquired no honour[69]. Robert earl of Gloceſter had remained about a year in England, endeavouring with great art, and the moſt impenetrable ſecrecy, to form a party among the nobility in favour of the empreſs; and then ſailed into Normandy to proſecute the ſame deſign. William d'Ypres

[68] Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222. [69] Orderic. Vital. p. 909, 910.

adviſed

A.D.1137. adviſed Stephen, who ſuſpected that the earl was engaged in ſuch intrigues, to ſeize his perſon, and formed a plot for that purpoſe. But Robert having received a hint of this plot, kept at a diſtance from the court, though often invited, which convinced the king that his deſign was diſcovered. Dreading a rupture with the earl at this time, whoſe power and popularity he well knew, with much difficulty he procured an interview, in which he made many apologies for what was paſt, and took a ſolemn oath, in the preſence of the archbiſhop of Rouen, "That "he would never again form any deſign againſt "the perſon or liberty of the earl." Robert affected to be ſatisfied; but knew Stephen too well to repoſe any confidence in his oaths [70].

A.D.1138. War with Scotland. King Stephen, without having been able to compoſe the diſorders in Normandy, found it abſolutely neceſſary to return to England, where all things were falling into confuſion. David king of Scots had invaded Northumberland, to which his ſon prince Henry had a claim; but being a pious prince and much under the influence of the clergy, he was prevailed upon, by Thurſtin archbiſhop of York, to delay the proſecution of his ſon's pretenſions till the king's return [71]. Stephen rejected the demands of the Scotch ambaſſadors; at which David was ſo much offended, that he entered Northumber-

[70] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 102.
[71] R. Hagulſtad, ſub ann. 1137.

land

land in the beginning of this year, with an army, which committed the moſt cruel ravages, burning all the towns, villages, and churches, and ſparing neither men, women, nor children. Theſe cruelties were chiefly perpetrated by the Gallowideans, who were too ferocious to ſubmit to diſcipline. The king of England hearing of theſe devaſtations, marched into the north at the head of a great army, and, upon the Scots retiring, purſued them as far as Roxburgh. While the two armies lay facing each other near that place, Stephen diſcovered ſuch ſymptoms of diſaffection among his own troops, that he did not think it prudent to riſk a battle, but returned into the ſouth, where his affairs had taken an unfavourable turn [72]. A.D. 1138.

Confederacy againſt Stephen.

Robert earl of Gloceſter had never been ſatisfied in his own mind with the oath of fealty that he had taken to Stephen; and having conſulted many clergymen, and even the pope himſelf; and they having all declared, that he was bound to obſerve the former oath that he had taken to his ſiſter the empreſs; he ſent a meſſage from Normandy to king Stephen, at Whitſuntide this year, recalling his homage, and renouncing his allegiance to that king, both on account of his former oath, and on account of Stephen's having violated the condition annexed to his oath of fealty [73]. This was a ſignal to

[72] R. Hagulſtan, ſub ann. 1138. Ailred. Hiſt. Bell. Standardi, p. 318, &c.

[73] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 102.

thoſe

A.D. 1138. thoſe Engliſh barons, who, in concert with the earl of Gloceſter, had reſolved to raiſe the empreſs to the throne; and many of them retired to their caſtles, and prepared for the execution of that deſign. Stephen on this occaſion diſplayed great activity and courage; and in the courſe of this year he was ſo fortunate as to take ſeveral of theſe caſtles, and either puniſhed their owners, or obliged them to return to his obedience[74].

Battle of the Standard.

While he was thus engaged in the ſouth, the Scots invaded Northumberland, and penetrated as far as North Allarton, where the famous battle of the Standard was fought Auguſt 22d, between them, and an army raiſed by William earl of Albemarle, Walter Eſpec, Roger Mowbray, Robert de Bruce, Bernard de Baliol, William de Percy, Robert de Ferrers, and other northern barons; in which the Scots were defeated with conſiderable loſs[75]. King David having collected his ſcattered forces at Carliſle, returned to the ſiege of Werk caſtle, which he reduced by famine. Alberic biſhop of Oſtia, the pope's legate in England, waited upon the king of Scotland at Carliſle, about Michaelmas, and endeavoured to bring about a peace between the two Britiſh monarchs; but without effect. This, however, was accompliſhed a few months after, by the more powerful mediation of queen Maude,

74 Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222.

75 This was called *The battle of the Standard*, from a remarkable ſtandard erected on a wheel-machine in the centre of the Engliſh army.

wife

wife of king Stephen, and niece of king David. A.D. 1138.
who, in an interview with her uncle at Durham, concluded a peace on these terms:—That the earldom of Northumberland should be granted to Henry prince of Scotland; in return for which he and his father should live in peace with Stephen, and not assist his enemies [76]. After this peace prince Henry accompanied his cousin queen Maude to the English court.

King Stephen had been so successful in the last campaign, that he might perhaps have triumphed over all his enemies, and prevented the future calamities of his reign, if he had not quarrelled with the clergy. Sensible of his imprudence in granting liberty to his nobles of fortifying their castles, of which grant the clergy had also availed themselves, he became earnestly desirous of getting some of the strongest of these castles into his own possession. Roger bishop of Salisbury, who had long been prime minister to Henry I. and high justiciary of the kingdom, had built several strong castles; particularly one at the Devizes, that was esteemed the most beautiful and magnificent fortress then in Europe [77]. Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Nigell bishop of Ely, his two nephews, and his natural son Roger, who was chancellor of England, had also fortified their castles. The king, resolving to begin his operations with this powerful family, which A.D. 1139. Stephen's quarrel with the bishops,

76 R. Hagulstad, p. 320, &c. Ailred. de Bell. Standard. p. 330, &c.
77 Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 223.

A.D.1139. he ſuſpected of diſaffection, invited them to a great council of the nobility at Oxford, June 24th; and they with ſome doubt and heſitation obeyed the ſummons. At their arrival in Oxford a quarrel happened, or, as ſome cotemporary hiſtorians affirm, was deſignedly raiſed, between the ſervants of Alan earl of Britanny, and thoſe of biſhop Roger, about their lodgings, in which many perſons were wounded, and one knight was killed. The king affected to be highly incenſed at this breach of the peace within the verge of his court, and commanded the biſhop, and all his friends to be apprehended. The biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln, with the chancellor, were ſeized; but the biſhop of Ely, lodging without the town, made his eſcape, and fled to his uncle's caſtle of the Devizes, which he determined to defend. When the biſhops and the chancellor were brought before the king, they were commanded to ſurrender all their caſtles, as an atonement for their offence. They profeſſed themſelves willing to make any reaſonable compenſation; but refuſed to deliver up their houſes. Upon this the king's great confident, and executioner of all his violent meaſures, William d'Ypres, was ſent with his mercenaries to beſiege the caſtle of the Devizes, carrying with him the biſhop of Saliſbury, its owner, a priſoner, and his ſon the chancellor, in chains. When he came before the caſtle, he ſummoned the biſhop of Ely to ſurrender; threatening, that if he did not, he would ſtarve his uncle to death.

When

When this had no effect, he ſent a meſſage to Maude of Ramſey, the biſhop's concubine, and the chancellor's mother, who was in the caſtle, "that if it was not immediately delivered up, "he would hang her ſon before her eyes." Knowing the ſanguinary nature of the man, and trembling for the fate of a beloved ſon, ſhe perſuaded the commander to ſurrender this impregnable fortreſs; in which was found no leſs than forty thouſand marks of the biſhop's treaſure, which was ſeized by the king. The biſhop of Lincoln was carried in the ſame manner before his caſtles of Newark and Sliford, and prevailed upon their commanders to ſurrender them, in order to preſerve him from being ſtarved to death. When the king had got all their caſtles and treaſures into his hands, the biſhops and chancellor were ſet at liberty; but the old biſhop of Sarum was ſo much affected with this ſad reverſe of fortune, that he died ſoon after of a broken heart [78]. A.D. 1139.

Theſe raſh and violent proceedings, againſt perſons of the greateſt dignity in church and ſtate, made a prodigious noiſe. The clergy univerſally took the alarm, and cried out, that the church and religion were on the brink of ruin. The king's own brother, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, the pope's legate in England, having for ſome time paſt been diſcontented, embraced Stephen ſummoned to appear before a council of the clergy.

[78] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 103. Orderic. Vital. p. 919, 920. Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 944, 945. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 223. R. Hoveden, ad ann. 1139.

this

A.D.1139. this opportunity of gratifying his reſentment. By virtue of his legatine commiſſion he called a council of the clergy to meet at Wincheſter, Auguſt 30th; and boldly ſummoned the king to appear before them to anſwer for his conduct. Stephen did not ſtoop ſo low as to appear in perſon; but he ſent ſome of his chief nobility to demand the reaſon of his being ſummoned; with Aubrey de Vere, an eloquent lawyer, to plead his cauſe. The legate opened the council with a moſt inflammatory ſpeech, painting the injuſtice, violence, and cruelty, of the king's proceedings againſt the biſhops in the blackeſt colours; and concluded with this declaration,—"That neither "the fear of loſing his brother's favour, nor "even of loſing his own life, ſhould deter him "from putting their ſentence, whatever it ſhould "be, in execution." The king's orator aggravated the inſolence of the biſhops, and the circumſtances of the riot at Oxford, as much as poſſible; and pretended, that they had voluntarily ſurendered their caſtles and treaſures to the king to atone for their offences. On the ſecond day of the council, the archbiſhop of Rouen, the only clergyman who eſpouſed the king's cauſe, made a ſtill better defence; affirming that the biſhops had merited all they had ſuffered for tranſgreſſing the canons of the church, by fortifying their caſtles, and acting in a military capacity. But all this would not have prevented a ſentence of excommunication againſt the king, and all who had been concerned in the late tranſ-

tranſactions, if ſome of the nobles had not laid A.D.1139.
their hands on their ſwords, and put the members of the council in fear; and if Aubrey de Vere had not taken the dangerous and humiliating ſtep of appealing to the pope in the king's name. This put a ſtop to all further proceedings, and the council broke up September 1ſt [79].

When the nation was in this ferment, the empreſs Maude landed in England, September 30th; and was received, with her brother Robert earl of Gloceſter, and her retinue, conſiſting only of an hundred and forty knights, into Arundel caſtle, by her ſtepmother Adelais, the queen-dowager. The earl of Gloceſter, leaving the empreſs in this ſtrong caſtle, ſet out with only twelve knights in his company, and travelling through by-ways, with great caution, arrived ſafe at Briſtol, without being diſcovered. As ſoon as king Stephen, who was beſieging Marlborough, heard of the landing of his competitor for the crown, he marched with great expedition, and inveſted the caſtle where ſhe had taken ſhelter. The queen-dowager, dreading his reſentment, ſent him an apology for having admitted the empreſs into her caſtle, which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not deny to the only daughter of her late huſband king Henry; intreated him to reſpect the ties of blood, and the ſacred laws of hoſpitality, and allow the empreſs to retire to

79 R. Hagulſtad. p. 337. Gervas, Chron. p. 1347, 1348. W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 103, 104.

A.D.1139. her brother's caſtle at Briſtol. This ſtrange requeſt was ſeconded by the king's brother, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter; and, to the ſurpriſe of all the world, Maude was honourably eſcorted by that prelate, and by Walleran earl of Mellent, her greateſt enemy, and Stephen's greateſt confident, and ſafely delivered to her brother the earl of Gloceſter. This, it muſt be confeſſed, is a moſt aſtoniſhing event, and, like ſome other things in the ſtory of this reign, hath more the appearance of romance than of real hiſtory. That Stephen ſhould conduct his rival to the only place where ſhe could do him hurt; that Maude ſhould truſt her perſon in the hands of her greateſt enemies; and that they ſhould faithfully diſcharge their truſt, are all equally incredible; but ſo well atteſted by contemporary hiſtorians, that their truth can hardly be doubted [80]. We ſhall endeavour to account for this in another place [81]. The empreſs was conducted by her brother to his caſtle of Gloceſter; where ſhe reſided a conſiderable time, at the expence and under the protection of Milo, governor of that caſtle, one of the richeſt and moſt powerful noblemen of thoſe parts [82].

A.D.1140. A moſt calamitous year.

The year 1140 was one of the moſt calamitous that had ever been ſeen in England. War, in its moſt horrid forms, raged from one end of the kingdom to the other; and the whole nation was

[80] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 103, 104. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 223. Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 946.

[81] See chap. 7. [82] Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 948.

inflamed

inflamed with more than civil fury. Not only the great barons, but all the petty lords of caſtles, of which there were ſeveral hundreds in the kingdom, declared for the king or for the empreſs, and made cruel war on thoſe of the oppoſite party with whom they were intermixed. Many of theſe caſtles were no better than dens of robbers, or, as the author of the Saxon Chronicle calls them; devils, who ſallied forth, and plundered and murdered all parties without diſtinction. The ſmoke of burning towns, villages, monaſteries, and churches, was every where to be ſeen. Commerce ceaſed; and even agriculture was in many places diſcontinued; which brought on a dreadful famine, by which many thouſands periſhed. Though there were an incredible number of ſurpriſes, ſkirmiſhes, and ſieges, in the courſe of this year, which it would be tedious to relate, there was no general action that contributed to bring this deſtructive quarrel to a period. All was an irregular kind of war, in which torrents of the nobleſt blood of England flowed in vain [83]. A.D. 1140.

Stephen diſplayed the greateſt courage and activity in defending his cauſe, but injured it by his imprudence. He withheld the caſtle of Lincoln from William de Roumora, earl of Lincoln, half-brother to Ralph earl of Cheſter, though they were both his friends; and the two earls, having A.D. 1141. Stephen taken priſoner at Lincoln.

[83] Chron. Saxon. p. 238, 239. Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 848, Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 224, where ſee a Latin poem on the miſeries of this year.

A.D.1141. got poſſeſſion of it by ſurpriſe, lived in it with their families, without diſcovering the leaſt diſpoſition to deſert their party. The citizens of Lincoln being zealous royaliſts, acquainted the king that their caſtle was careleſsly guarded, and might be eaſily taken, promiſing him their aſſiſtance in the attempt. Stephen, too often raſh in his reſolves, flew to Lincoln with his army, and inveſted the caſtle on Chriſtmas day A. D. 1139. The earl of Cheſter made his eſcape, haſtened into Cheſhire, and raiſed all his followers in thoſe parts; but not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege, he applied to the earl of Gloceſter, who was his father-in-law, for aſſiſtance; promiſing, that both he and the earl of Lincoln would declare for the empreſs. Gloceſter, though he had been much offended with his ſon-in-law, for adhering ſo long to the adverſe party, being ardently deſirous of relieving his daughter in her diſtreſs, and gaining two ſuch powerful barons to his ſide, complied with this requeſt, and inſtantly began his march; on which he was joined by the earl of Cheſter and his forces. The united armies having paſſed the Trent, with much difficulty, early in the morning, February 2d, found their enemies drawn up without the walls of Lincoln in order of battle; the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the centre, with the king on foot at their head. The earl of Gloceſter drew up his army in the ſame manner: one of his wings of horſe was commanded by the earl of Cheſter, and the other wing

wing was compoſed entirely of noblemen and gentlemen who had loſt their eſtates in this quarrel. Theſe began the battle; and being animated with the two moſt powerful paſſions, revenge and hope, they threw away their ſpears, drew their ſwords, and advanced with ſuch impetuoſity, that their antagoniſts, who expected to have tilted with their ſpears as uſual, were ſeized with a panic, and fled almoſt without fighting. The mercenaries on the other wing, commanded by William d'Ypres, were alſo put to flight by the earl of Cheſter and his followers. The main body of the king's army was now aſſaulted on all ſides, and, after a long and valiant ſtruggle, was entirely broken. Stephen having performed prodigies of valour, was taken priſoner, with ſome of his braveſt followers, who ſcorned to deſert their maſter in diſtreſs. The earl of Gloceſter, to whom the king ſurrendered, treated his royal captive with great humanity, preſented him to his rival the empreſs in the caſtle of Gloceſter, and then conducted him to the caſtle of Briſtol, where he was confined [84]. A.D. 1141.

By this great defeat, and the captivity of the king, the royaliſts were quite diſpirited; and many of them made their ſubmiſſions to the empreſs; who had an interview with the pope's legate, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, in a field The empreſs acknowledged queen.

[84] Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 952. W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2, p. 106. Chron. Saxon, p. 241. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 224, 225. R. Hoveden, p. 278, 279, 280.

A.D.1141. near that city, March 2d, in which ſhe perſuaded that prelate to abandon his brother in his diſtreſs, and acknowledge her title to the crown of England, and all the dominions of her father, by promiſing to allow him the chief direction of affairs. The empreſs made her triumphant entry into Wincheſter the day after, and was conducted to the cathedral by the legate, who publickly recognized her queen of England, and denounced a curſe on all who refuſed to ſubmit to her authority. A few days after, Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeveral other great men, both of the clergy and laity, having obtained the permiſſion of the impriſoned king, made their ſubmiſſions to her at Wilton: from whence ſhe proceeded to Oxford, where ſhe kept the feſtival of Eaſter with great pomp. The legate, in conſequence of his convention with her, convened a great council of the prelates, abbots, and principal clergy, with deputies from the city of London, at Wincheſter, April 7th. Having firſt conſulted privately with the prelates, next with the abbots, and, laſtly, with the archdeacons, and obtained their conſent to the acknowledgment of the empreſs, he opened the council with a very artful ſpeech, which is preſerved by a contemporary hiſtorian, who was preſent, and heard it with great attention[85]. He began with high encomiums on the felicities of his uncle Henry's reign; mentioned their

[85] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 106.

having

having ſworn to ſupport the ſucceſſion of his daughter Maude; but that ſhe delaying to come and take poſſeſſion of the throne, his brother Stephen had been permitted to reign. He then aggravated the errors of his brother's government, particularly in impriſoning biſhops, and oppreſſing the church and clergy. "For which "crimes (ſaid he) God hath rejected him, and "given him into the hands of his enemies. And "now, that the kingdom may not be without a "ruler, we, the clergy of England, to whom it "chiefly belongs to elect and ordain a king, "having yeſterday deliberated on this great "cauſe in private, and invoked the direction of "the Holy Spirit, did and do elect the daughter "of the pacific, rich, glorious, good, and in-"comparable king Henry, to be our queen, "and promiſe her our loyalty and ſupport." To this all the members of the council gave their conſent, by their acclamations or their ſilence. On the ſecond day of the council the London deputies were introduced, and told the council, "That they did not come to debate, "but to petition for the liberty of their king; "and that the whole community of London, "with all the barons, lately admitted into it, "earneſtly deſired this of the legate, the arch-"biſhop, and all the clergy." The legate told the deputies what had been done in the council the day before: which they promiſed to report to their conſtituents. The council concluded on the third day, with pronouncing a ſentence of A.D. 1141.

A.D. 1141. excommunication on ſeveral perſons who ſtill adhered to the king, and particularly on one William Martel, who had plundered the legate's baggage [86]. The earl of Gloceſter was at great pains in ſoothing the citizens of London, and at length prevailed upon them to admit the empreſs; who entered the city a few days before Midſummer, and began to make preparations for her coronation. But when her affairs were in this moſt proſperous train, her own miſconduct threw all things into confuſion, and occaſioned another ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution.

Haughty behaviour of the empreſs, and its conſequences.

Moderation in proſperity was a virtue unknown to the empreſs. Naturally proud and haughty, and elated beyond meaſure by her late ſucceſſes, ſhe behaved in an ungracious diſobliging manner to her friends, and with great diſdain and inſolence to thoſe who had been her enemies, even when they came to make their moſt humble ſubmiſſions. Conceited of her wiſdom, ſhe ſlighted the advices of her uncle David king of Scotland, who had come to pay her a viſit, and of her brother the earl of Gloceſter, to whom ſhe was ſo much indebted. She confiſcated the eſtates of all who did not immediately ſubmit to her authority, and thereby fixed them in their oppoſition; recalled all the grants that had been made by Stephen, thoſe to the church not excepted, by which many were

[86] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 106. Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 953.

ruined

ruined in their fortunes, and the clergy were disobliged. Queen Matilda, who was her cousin, and a princess of uncommon merit, made earnest supplications for the liberty of her husband, engaging that he should solemnly resign the crown, and retire into a monastery. But they were all rejected. The citizens of London petitioned for some abatement in their taxes, and the restoration of the laws of Edward the Confessor: in answer to which she upbraided them with their liberalities to king Stephen, and frowned them from her presence. Irritated at this affront, and dreading the severity of her government, they formed a plot to seize her person; which being discovered by one of the accomplices, she made her escape and retired to Oxford [87]. A.D. 1141.

The behaviour of the legate had for some time been equivocal, and on his declining to appear at court, the earl of Gloucester made him a visit at Winchester, with a design to penetrate his intentions, which he plainly discovered were not friendly. Upon this the empress marched suddenly to Winchester, attended by the king of Scots, the earl of Gloucester, and several other barons, with their followers; and being received into the royal castle, sent a messenger to the legate, who was at his house in the city, to come to court to give his advice on business of importance. The crafty prelate told the messenger, Empress besieged in the castle of Winchester.

[87] Gesta Stephani Regis, p. 955.

that

A.D.1141. that he would make ready as fast as possible: but he meant for resistance, and not obedience. Accordingly he dispatched couriers to queen Matilda, who was at the head of a body of troops in Kent, to the Londoners, and to all the friends of king Stephen, to come to him immediately, with all their followers; and he was so well obeyed, that in a few days he found himself at the head of a very powerful army, with which he invested the castle of Winchester on August 1st. The face of affairs was now greatly changed; the empress herself, the king of Scotland, the earl of Gloucester, and all the chief supporters of her cause, being shut up in one castle, in great danger of perishing by famine, or of falling into the hands of their enemies [88].

The empress escapes, but the earl of Gloucester is taken.

In this extremity the earl of Gloucester formed a scheme for their deliverance. In those superstitious times, the most hostile armies, by tacit consent, suspended their operations, and relaxed their vigilance, on the festivals of the church. The festival of the Holy Cross was on the 14th of September; and very early on the morning of that day, the empress mounted on a swift horse, attended by a choice body of troops, marched silently out of Winchester, and made her escape to the Devizes, where she arrived, almost dead with terror and fatigue, and from thence was conveyed in a horse-litter to Gloucester. The king of Scotland also eluded his pursuers, and

[88] Gesta Stephani Regis, p. 955.

reached his own kingdom. But the earl of Gloceſter, who placed himſelf in the rear, was purſued by a ſuperior force, and taken priſoner at Stokebridge, from whence he was conducted to the caſtle of Rocheſter [89]. A.D. 1141.

This was as fatal a blow to the party of the empreſs, as the captivity of king Stephen had been to *his* adherents; and therefore, after that agitation of ſpirits occaſioned by theſe rapid revolutions had a little ſubſided, a negotiation was ſet on foot for an exchange of theſe two illuſtrious priſoners, which was accompliſhed on November 1ſt. The legate, who had been the chief inſtrument of the deliverance of his brother from priſon, convened a council of the clergy at Weſtminſter, December 7th, in which he acted a part directly oppoſite to that which he had acted in the council of Wincheſter eight months before, and concluded with excommunicating all who adhered to the counteſs of Anjou, which was the higheſt title he deigned to give the empreſs, who had ſo lately been acknowledged by him queen of England [90]. King Stephen and the earl of Gloceſter exchanged.

Though the civil war ſtill continued, no action of importance happened in the former part of this year, owing to a fit of ſickneſs with which king Stephen was ſeized in the ſpring, and to the abſence of the earl of Gloceſter, who, at the A.D. 1142. The eſcape of the empreſs from Oxford.

89 J. Brompt. col. 1032.

90 W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 106—108. Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 954—959. Contin. Flor. Worceſt. p. 677. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 225.

earneſt

A.D.1142. earneſt requeſt of all his party, had made a voyage into Normandy, to bring over the huſband of the empreſs, or her ſon prince Henry. The empreſs, in the abſence of the earl, took up her reſidence in Oxford, where ſhe was guarded by the noblemen of her party, who pledged their honour to him that they would protect her till he returned. King Stephen, after his recovery, beſieged and took the town and caſtle of Wareham. From thence he marched with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, that he ſurpriſed the city of Oxford three days before Michaelmas, the empreſs with her retinue taking ſhelter in the caſtle; which was immediately inveſted by the king, who ſwore a ſolemn oath, that he would not raiſe the ſiege till he had taken his rival priſoner. When the ſiege had continued three months, and the garriſon of the caſtle was reduced to the laſt extremity by famine, and the inceſſant aſſaults of the enemy, the empreſs made her eſcape from impending ruin, in a manner more ſurpriſing than any of her former eſcapes from Arundel, London, or Wincheſter. The river being frozen over, and the ground covered with ſnow, ſhe dreſſed herſelf and three truſty knights in white, and iſſuing ſilently about midnight, at a poſtern of the caſtle, paſſed all the enemies centinels unobſerved, travelled on foot to Abingdon, and from thence on horſeback to Wallingford. Here ſhe was ſoon after joined by an army that was marching to her relief, under the conduct of her brother the earl of Gloceſter, with her ſon prince Henry

in his company, which made her forget all her fatigues and terrors. But the caſtle of Oxford having ſurrendered the morning after her eſcape, and the ſeaſon being unfit for action, the barons with their followers were permitted to return to their own homes [91]. A.D.1142.

This deſtructive civil war had now raged ſo long, and with ſo much violence, that the ſtrength of both parties was almoſt quite exhauſted, and their attempts to annoy each other became ſo languid, that they hardly merit the attention of poſterity. The earl of Gloceſter formed a ſcheme for ſurpriſing the king, and his brother the biſhop of Wincheſter, at Wilton, July 1ſt, this year; and they made their eſcape with great difficulty, leaving their plate and baggage to their enemy [92]. During the three ſucceeding years there was no action of importance; but the war was carried on between the barons of the oppoſite parties, by attacking each others caſtles, and plundering each others lands; which ſerved to ruin and depopulate the country, but contributed nothing to the deciſion of this fatal quarrel [93]. A.D.1143. The civil war continued.

Prince Henry had now reſided in the caſtle of Briſtol above four years, proſecuting his ſtudies under the care of his uncle earl Robert, the moſt learned as well as the moſt virtuous nobleman of his age, when his father Geoffrey of Anjou ſent A.D.1147. Miſery of England.

[91] Chron. Gervas, p. 1358. Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 959. W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 110.

[92] Gervas Chron. p. 1358. [93] Id. ibid. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 225.

a depu-

A.D.1147. a deputation to conduct him into Normandy, which was entirely reduced to his obedience. The earl of Gloceſter attended his royal pupil to Wareham, where he embarked for the continent about ten days before Whitſuntide. This proved a final parting between the prince and his excellent preceptor, who died at his caſtle of Briſtol, October 31ſt, this year. The empreſs, after the departure of her ſon, and the death of her brother, had ſo little comfort or authority in England, that ſhe ſailed for Normandy before Lent A. D. 1148, leaving the barons of her party for a time to govern and defend themſelves [93]. King Stephen, during theſe two years, was ſo much embroiled with the clergy, and with the barons of his own party, by treacherouſly ſeizing their perſons, and obliging them to deliver up their caſtles, that he could make no advantage of theſe events. "All England, in the mean time (to uſe the "words of a contemporary hiſtorian), wore a "face of miſery and deſolation. Multitudes "abandoned their beloved country, and went "into voluntary exile; others, forſaking their "own houſes, built wretched huts in the church-"yards, hoping for protection from the ſacred-"neſs of the place. Whole families, after ſuſ-"taining life as long as they could, by eating "herbs, roots, and the fleſh of dogs and horſes, "at laſt died of hunger; and you might ſee

[93] Annal. Waverlien. p. 156. Gervas Chron. 1363.

"many

"many pleaſant villages without a ſingle inha- A.D.1147.
"bitant of either ſex[94]."

Prince Henry being now arrived at the military age of ſixteen years, his father Geoffrey ſent him through England, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue, into Scotland, to receive the honour of knighthood from his mother's uncle king David. That ceremony was accordingly performed at Carliſle on Whitſunday, May 22d, with great pomp, in the midſt of a prodigious concourſe of the nobility of England, Scotland, and Normandy[95]. The prince having ſpent about eight months in the court of Scotland, perfecting himſelf in his military exerciſes, ſailed from thence in January A. D. 1150, into Normandy, which was ſoon after reſigned to him by his father. A.D.1149. Prince Henry knighted by the king of Scotland.

Prince Henry, after he had taken poſſeſſion of Normandy, deſigned to have made his firſt eſſay in arms at the head of his party in England, for the recovery of that crown; but he was prevented from executing that deſign by a ſucceſſion of important affairs, which detained him three years on the continent. The firſt of theſe affairs was a war with the king of France about the inveſtiture of Normandy, which he at laſt obtained. The ſecond was the death of his father Geoffrey earl of Anjou, which happened September 7th, on which he took poſſeſſion of the territories of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. The third was his marriage with Eleanor heireſs of Guienne A.D.1151. Prince Henry obtains Normandy, Anjou, &c.

94 Geſta Regis Stephani, p. 961.
95 J. Hagulſtad, p. 227. Hen. Hunt, l. 8. p. 226.

and

A.D.1152. Marries Eleanor heireſs of Guienne.

and Poitou, on Whitſunday A. D. 1152, who, about ſix weeks before, had been divorced from Louis VII. king of France, to whom ſhe had been ſixteen years married. There was a great diſproportion between the age of Henry, who was only in his twentieth year, and the age of this princeſs, whoſe character had alſo been a little ſullied by the breath of fame. But ſhe brought him a great acceſſion of power and wealth by the territories of her family [96]. This excited the jealouſy of her former huſband; who now ſeeing his folly in parting with ſo rich an heireſs, formed an alliance againſt Henry, with king Stephen, his ſon prince Euſtace, Theobald earl of Blois, and Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's younger brother, who was diſſatisfied with his appanage. The allies invaded Normandy; which was ſo well defended, that they were obliged to retire, and abandon their enterpriſe. While Henry was thus employed on the continent, King Stephen alarmed at his increaſing power, endeavoured to get his eldeſt ſon prince Euſtace crowned; but could not prevail upon Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury to perform that ceremony [97].

A.D.1153. Prince Henry invades England, and makes peace with Stephen.

Prince Henry, having made a truce with the king of France, ſet ſail with a fleet of thirty-ſix ſhips, and landed in England, January 6th, attended by a ſmall army, conſiſting of one hundred and forty knights, and three thouſand foot.

[96] Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 227.

[97] Annal. Waverlien. p. 157. Gervas Chron. p. 1371, 1372. Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 227.

Though

Though it was now the middle of winter, the A.D. 1153.
flames of the civil war broke out with greater violence than ever, and the Prince, being joined by the barons of his party, beſieged the town and caſtle of Marlborough. King Stephen, having collected all his forces, attempted to raiſe the ſiege; but being prevented from executing that deſign by exceſſive rains, he returned with his army to London. After the ſurrender of Marlborough, the prince marched to Wallingford, where he was met by Stephen at the head of all his troops, which were now become more numerous than thoſe of his competitor. The two armies lay facing each other three days, without coming to an engagement, which gave an opportunity to ſome of the barons, who deplored the miſeries of their country, to propoſe an accommodation. A treaty was ſet on foot; the ſucceſs of which was very much facilitated by the death of prince Euſtace, king Stephen's eldeſt ſon, Auguſt 17th. After various negotiations, a peace was at laſt concluded on the following terms: That Stephen ſhould continue to reign during life, and Prince Henry ſhould ſucceed to the throne at his death, without any oppoſition. To ſecure this ſucceſſion, all the barons of Stephen's party ſhould ſwear to it, and the moſt important caſtles ſhould be put into the hands of Henry's friends. This agreement, which diffuſed incredible joy over the whole kingdom, was ſolemnly ratified in a great council held at Wincheſter in November this year, and all the prelates and barons of

A.D.1153. both parties took an oath of fealty, and did homage to Henry as ſucceſſor in another council, A.D.1154. held at Oxford, January 13th A. D. 1154. The prince, having regulated his affairs in England, returned into Normandy in the ſpring of this year [98].

King Stephen dies. Though king Stephen had enjoyed more authority, and the country more tranquillity, ſince the late pacification, than in any period of his reign, he was far from being pleaſed with that tranſaction, and ſoon began to ſhow that he did not intend to be very punctual in performing his part of the treaty. By one article it was agreed, that all the caſtles which had been built on both ſides ſince the death of Henry I. amounting (if we may believe a contemporary hiſtorian) to the number of 1115, ſhould be demoliſhed, as many of them had been neſts of thieves, and the occaſion of infinite miſchiefs to the kingdom [99]. Henry had given ſtrict orders to the barons of his party to excute this article; but Stephen made various excuſes and delays. This, and ſome other things, it is probable, would have rekindled the flames of civil war, if theſe two princes had continued long on their preſent footing. But king Stephen was taken ill of the iliac paſſion, which put an end to his life and reign, at Dover, October 25th, in the fiftieth

[98] Hen. Hunt. l. 8, p. 229. M. Paris, p. 61. Annal. Waverlien. p 158. J. Brompt. p. 1037. Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 14.
[99] M. Paris, p. 61.

year of his age, and the nineteenth of his reign [100]. A.D. 1154.

His character.

The following character of king Stephen may be collected from his actions, and from the writings of contemporary authors. In his perſon he was graceful, ſtrong, and active; in his converſation, pleaſant and facetious; in his deportment popular and condeſcending, to a degree that many eſteemed unſuitable to his dignity. He was a kind huſband, a tender but too indulgent parent, and to his favourites not only liberal but profuſe. His courage was of the boldeſt and moſt intrepid kind; and, if he had never aſpired to royalty, he would have lived and died beloved. Ambition was the rock on which he ſplit. His uſurpation of the throne of England involved him in the guilt of the moſt impious perjuries and moſt vile ingratitude; and to preſerve what he had uſurped, he was led to commit many acts of injuſtice, treachery, and oppreſſion. In a word, his reign was uncomfortable to himſelf, unhappy to his family and his country, being one continued ſcene of confuſion, miſery, and civil war, from the beginning to the end.

History of Wales.

The events which happened in Wales in this period, were not of ſuch importance as to merit a minute detail in this work. That country ſtill continued to be haraſſed by wars between its ſeveral princes, whoſe mutual jealouſies were the

100 Chron. Gervas, col. 1376. Hen. Hunt. l. 8, p. 228.

A.D.1154. occaſion of frequent quarrels and of many miſeries. In the intervals of theſe quarrels, they ſometimes made incurſions into the territories of the Engliſh, which drew upon them the reſentment of that more powerful nation [101].

History of Scotland. King Edgar, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Malcolm Canmore, was ſeated on the throne of Scotland at the beginning of this period, when Henry, the youngeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, mounted the throne of England; who ſoon after married the princeſs Matilda, king Edgar's ſiſter. This near relation between the two royal families produced a long and cordial peace between the two nations. Nor was the internal tranquillity of the kingdom interrupted by any civil commotions during the reign of this prince; who dying at Dundee, January 8th, A. D. 1107, was ſucceeded by his younger brother Alexander [102]. This prince was as happy as his predeceſſor in cultivating the friendſhip of his brother-in-law the king of England; but diſcovered more activity in ſuppreſſing certain bands of robbers, by whom the northern parts of the kingdom were much infeſted, and in reducing the licentious nobility to a due obedience to the laws, by an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; which procured him the ſurname of *the Fierce*. Alexander was married to Sibylla, natural daughter of

101 See Dr. Powel's Hiſtory of Wales, p. 157—204.

102 Chron. Mailros, p. 163. Fordun. Scotichron. l. 5. c. 28. Buchan. Hiſt. l. 7.

Henry

Henry I. [103]; but died without iſſue, A. D. 1124; A.D.1154. and was ſucceeded by his youngeſt brother David; commonly called *St. David*, on account of his great piety (according to the mode of thoſe times), and of his exceſſive liberality to the church and clergy. David was educated in England, under the care of his uncle Edgar Atheling; and after the marriage of his ſiſter to king Henry, he reſided chiefly in the Engliſh court; where he married Matilda, the only child of Waltheof earl of Northumberland and Huntington, by which he obtained a title to theſe two earldoms. By his long reſidence in England he acquired a taſte for the Engliſh manners and way of living, which he laboured to introduce among his own ſubjects after his acceſſion to the throne of Scotland [104]. As earl of Huntington he was the firſt of the laity who ſwore, A. D. 1126, to ſupport the ſucceſſion of the empreſs Maude to the crown of England; and when that oath had been ſhamefully violated by almoſt all who had taken it, this pious prince invaded England ſeveral times (as hath been already mentioned), to pull down the uſurper Stephen, and raiſe the empreſs to the throne. In the laſt years of Stephen's reign he remained in the quiet poſſeſſion of the four northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Durham; and theſe counties were ceded to him and his

103 Dalrymple's Collections, p. 371.
104 W. Malmſ. l. 5. p. 90.

A.D.1154. heirs by prince Henry Plantagenet, afterwards Henry II. when he received the honour of knighthood from him at Carliſle, May 22d, A. D. 1149; and that ceſſion was confirmed by an oath, that it ſhould never be reſumed[105]. In his old age this excellent king loſt his only ſon Henry, who is repreſented by all the hiſtorians of thoſe times, as one of the moſt virtuous and accompliſhed princes of the age in which he flouriſhed. When Henry was at the Engliſh court, A. D. 1139, he fell in love with, and married, Ada, ſiſter of William earl of Warren and Surrey; by whom he left, at his death, A. D. 1152, three ſons, Malcolm, William, and David, and three daughters, Margaret, afterwards married to Conan duke of Britanny, Adama, married to Florence earl of Holland, and Matilda[106]. King David did not long ſurvive his amiable and much-beloved ſon, but falling ſick at Carliſle, where he frequently reſided, he died there, in a very pious manner, May 24th, A. D. 1153; and was ſucceeded by his grandſon, Malcolm IV. ſurnamed *the Maiden*.

[105] W. Neubrigenſ. l. 1. c. 24. l. 2. c. 4.
[106] Fordun. Scotichron. l. 5. c. 33.

SECTION III.

The civil and military history of Great Britain, from the accession of Henry II. *to the throne of England*, A. D. 1154, *to his death*, A. D. 1189.

HENRY PLANTAGENET, eldest son of the empress Maude, and of Geoffrey Plantagenet earl of Anjou, was besieging the castle of a rebellious baron in Normandy, when he received the important and unexpected news of the death of king Stephen. Having finished the siege in which he was engaged, by taking the castle, he began to make preparations for his voyage to England, where he landed, near Hurst castle, December 8th, and was crowned at Westminster on the 19th of the same month, with his consort Eleanor, by Theobald archbishop of Canterbury, in a great assembly of prelates and nobles[1]. This event gave inexpressible satisfaction to the people of England, as it put an end to the irregular succession of their kings, and to those destructive civil wars which had brought their country to the very brink of ruin. A.D. 1154. Coronation of Henry II.

The first acts of Henry's government were equally wise and vigorous, and confirmed the high opinion which his subjects entertained of A.D. 1155. First measures of his government wise and vigorous.

[1] Chron. Norman. p. 989. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 1. M. Paris, p. 65. Annal. Waverlien. p. 158.

A.D.1155. his ſpirit and abilities. He immediately iſſued a proclamation, commanding all the foreign mercenaries, who in the preceding reign had committed the moſt horrible depredations, to depart the kingdom by a certain day, under the pain of death; and they all vaniſhed before the appointed time. He gave orders to level with the ground the numerous caſtles which had been erected, in all parts of England, in the late civil wars, and from which the neighbouring countries had been deſolated; and theſe orders were obeyed, though, in ſome places, with no ſmall reluctance. Finding the crown greatly impoveriſhed by the many grants of the royal demeſnes, which had been made by king Stephen, and even by the empreſs, to their reſpective partiſans, he obtained a decree of his parliament or great council, to reſume all theſe grants; which he executed with the moſt perfect impartiality, and with much greater eaſe than could have been expected [2].

Parliaments. In a parliament held at London, he voluntarily granted a charter of liberties, or rather renewed and confirmed that which had been granted by his grandfather Henry I [3]. In another parliament, held at Wincheſter, about Michaelmas, he found the affairs of his kingdom in ſuch a ſettled ſtate, that he conſulted with his barons, about attempting the conqueſt of Ireland, to be given to his youngeſt brother prince William;

[2] Gervas Chron. ann. 1155. W. Nenbrigen. l. 2, c. 2, 3.

[3] See Judge Blackſtone's Law-Tracts, vol. 2. p. 11.

but

but this project not being agreeable to his mother the empress, the execution of it was postponed[4]. The coin, which had been shamefully adulterated in the preceding reign, he restored to its standard purity; and the laws, which had been as shamefully relaxed, he raised to their proper dignity and vigour[5]. To secure all these blessings to his subjects, and prevent all disputes about the succession, he made all his prelates and barons take an oath of fealty to his eldest son prince William; and, failing him, to his second son prince Henry, who was born in March this year[6]. In a word, it may be truly said, that no king of England had ever done so much good, or gained so much love, in so short a time, since Alfred the Great, as Henry II. in the first year of his reign, though it was only the twenty-first year of his age. A.D. 1155.

England being now in perfect tranquillity, Henry embarked at Dover, in January this year; arrived at Rouen, the capital of Normandy, where his mother the empress resided, on Candlemas-day; and, about a week after, had an interview with Louis VII. king of France, to whom he did homage for all his territories on the continent[7]. After this interview he returned to Rouen; where he was visited by the earl and countess of Flanders; and by his brother Geoffrey, who, discontented with the smallness of A.D. 1156. Voyage into Normandy.

4 Annal. Waverlien. p. 158.
5 R. Hoveden, p. 282.
6 Gervas Chron. ann. 1155.
7 Chron. Norman. p. 991.

his

A.D.1156. his appanage, claimed the earldom of Anjou, and being refuſed, retired to his caſtles, and endeavoured to excite an inſurrection. Henry purſued him with an army, and took all his caſtles, which he demoliſhed; but upon his ſubmiſſion, he reſtored his lands, and granted him an annual penſion of one thouſand pounds ſterling, and two thouſand pounds of Anjouvine money [8]. After this tranſaction, which was finiſhed in July, he made a progreſs into Guienne, and the other provinces which he had got by his queen, and received the homage of the prelates and nobles of thoſe provinces [9].

A.D.1157. Henry returns to England. Henry's reputation was already become ſo great, that the earl and counteſs of Flanders having reſolved upon a pilgrimage into the Holy Land, appointed him guardian to their infant ſon, and regent of their dominions in their abſence. He ſpent the beginning of this year in regulating the affairs of that earldom [10]. On his return into England, in the week after Eaſter, he recovered the four northern counties by negotiation from Malcolm IV. king of Scotland, who was in no condition to contend with a prince who was ſo much his ſuperior in power as well as in abilities [11].

8 Chron. Norman. p. 991. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 7. M. Paris, p. 67.

9 Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 446.

10 Gervas Chron. ann. 1157. Chron. Norman. p. 993.

11 W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 4.

The Welſh had made frequent incurſions into England in the laſt reign, in which they had not only done much miſchief to the country, but had recovered the poſſeſſion of ſeveral extenſive diſtricts, of which they had been formerly deprived; and had ſhaken off their dependence upon the Engliſh crown. Henry being now at leiſure, raiſed a great army, with which he entered Wales about the beginning of Auguſt, and advanced to Baſingwerk in Flintſhire, without meeting with any oppoſition. But as he was marching with the van of his army through a narrow defile near that place, he was ſuddenly aſſaulted by the Welſh, who pouring ſhowers of arrows, darts, and ſtones, from the ſurrounding precipices, put his troops into ſuch confuſion, that Henry de Eſſex, hereditary ſtandard-bearer of England, threw down the royal ſtandard, and, flying, cried out, that the king was ſlain, and all was loſt. This ſpread ſuch a panic through the army, that it was on the point of diſbanding, when the king, by ſhewing himſelf, prevented a total defeat[12]. After this diſaſter, Henry, changing his route, marched his army along the ſea-coaſt, attended by his fleet, and proceeded with great caution, cutting down the woods, making roads, and building caſtles to ſecure his conqueſts, as he advanced. Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales, convinced of his inability to

A.D. 1157. Expedition into Wales.

12 W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 5. Gervas Chron. ann. 1157. M. Paris, p. 68. Chron. Mailros. ann. 1158.

defend

A.D.1157. defend his country againſt an enemy ſo powerful and ſo prudent, made his peace, by reſigning all his late acquiſitions, and doing homage for what he retained [13].

A.D.1158. Voyage to the continent. Henry, having ſpent the firſt months of this year in a royal progreſs for the adminiſtration of juſtice, had an interview with Malcolm king of Scotland, at Carliſle, who came thither in hopes of receiving the honour of knighthood; but ſome miſunderſtanding ariſing between the two monarchs, Malcolm did not receive that honour at this time [14]. In his return into the ſouth, Henry celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter in the ſuburbs of Lincoln, in compliance with the ſuperſtitious terrors of his ſubjects, who had been taught by a pretended prophecy, that ſome great calamity would befall the firſt king of England who preſumed to wear his crown within the walls of that city [15]. Soon after this he made another voyage to the continent on the following occaſion. The people of Nantz in Britanny, having revolted from their rightful ſovereign, invited Geoffrey Plantagenet, king Henry's brother, to become their earl; and that prince being now dead, Henry laid claim to the earldom of Nantz, as heir to his brother. This claim, which doth not ſeem to have been very well founded, was diſputed by Conan duke of Britanny, who, on Geoffrey's death, had taken poſſeſſion of Nantz,

[13] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 5. [14] Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1158.
[15] R. Hoveden, p. 282. W. Neubrigen. l. 2, c. 9.

as belonging to his dukedom. At Henry's arrival in Normandy, he had an interview with the king of France; and in order to gain his friendſhip, and prevent his eſpouſing the cauſe of the duke of Britanny, he propoſed a marriage between his eldeſt ſurviving ſon, prince Henry, and Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of that king by his ſecond queen, Conſtantia of Caſtile. This propoſal was ſo agreeable to the French monarch, that it was not only accepted, but Henry was invited to Paris, where he was moſt magnificently entertained ſeveral days, and obtained a commiſſion, as earl of Anjou, and ſeneſchal of France, to determine the important controverſy that had ſubſiſted for ſome time between Eudo earl of Penthievre, and Conan duke of Britanny, about the right to that dukedom. As ſoon as Conan was informed of this commiſſion, he waited upon Henry, and voluntarily yielded to him the earldom of Nantz, to procure a ſentence in his favour; which was accordingly pronounced[16]. Thus the king of England, by his policy and power, was making continual additions to his dominions. A.D.1158.

Henry had no ſooner made good his claim, ſuch as it was, to the earldom of Nantz, than he advanced another, in right of his queen, to the earldom of Thouloufe: which ſeems to have been better founded. For queen Eleanor was the grand-daughter of Philippa, the only child A.D.1159. Return into England, &c.

[16] Gervas Chron. ann. 1158. Chron. Norman. p. 994.

of

A.D. 1159. of William IV. earl of Thoulouſe; but that earl, before his death, conveyed all his dominions to his brother Raimond earl of St. Giles, whoſe grandſon, of the ſame name, was now earl of Thoulouſe. When Eleanor was queen of France, her huſband, Louis VII. eſteemed her pretenſions to the earldom of Thoulouſe ſo good, that he beſieged that city; but was prevented from proſecuting the ſiege, by his expedition into the Holy Land. Henry being now the huſband of Eleanor, determined to aſſert her right to that great earldom, which then comprehended Quercy and the greateſt part of Languedoc [17]. In order to this, he came over into England in the beginning of this year, and held a great council of his prelates, barons, and military tenants, who willingly agreed to pay a ſum of money rather than ſerve in perſon in this diſtant expedition. The ſum demanded, and paid, for each knight's fee, was three pounds; by which he raiſed one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, in England, equal in weight of ſilver to five hundred and forty thouſand pounds, and in efficacy at leaſt to two million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money [18].

Expedition againſt Thoulouſe.

After Eaſter he returned into Normandy, where he levied a ſimilar tax from his military tenants, and with this money he took into his ſervice great multitudes of adventurers or ſoldiers of fortune, with whom all the countries of Europe

[17] Chron. Norman. p. 995. [18] Gervas Chron. c. 1.

abounded

abounded in thoſe times. About Midſummer A.D.1159.
Henry aſſembled his own troops, and thoſe of his allies (among whom were Malcolm king of Scotland, who was knighted in this expedition, and Raimond earl of Barcelona, and king of Aragon), in Guienne, and from thence invaded Quercy, where he took the city of Cahors. He then directed his march towards Thouloufe, with a view to inveſt that city; but received intelligence by the way, that the king of France had thrown himſelf into it, with a body of troops, and declared his reſolution to defend it to the laſt extremity. The famous Thomas Becket, who was then chancellor of England, and Henry's greateſt favourite, vehemently urged him to proceed, and ſeize, without ceremony, the perſon of his ſovereign lord, of whom he held all his extenſive territories on the continent, and to whom he had ſworn fealty. But this advice was prudently rejected, as too bold and dangerous, inconſiſtent with his oath of fealty, and with that reſpect which he owed to the perſon of his ſovereign, which it was the intereſt of a prince who had ſo many powerful vaſſals of his own, to hold ſacred and inviolable. Henry therefore declared, that out of reſpect to the king of France, he would not beſiege Thouloufe; but he proſecuted the war in other places with equal vigour and ſucceſs [19]. This war continued both in Lan-

19 Fitz-Stephen. Vita S. T. Cantuar. p. 22. Joann. in Quadrilogo, c. 9, 10. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 10.

guedoc,

A.D.1159. guedoc, on the frontiers of Normandy, and in other places, from Auguſt to December; when a truce was concluded for ſix months, and negotiations for a peace were ſet on foot.

A.D.1160. Treaty of peace. Before the expiration of this truce, the terms of peace were ſettled, by which Henry was permitted to retain all thoſe places in the earldom of Thoulouſe that he had conquered. But before the final concluſion of the treaty, ſome miſunderſtanding aroſe between the two kings, which put off the ratification of it to the month of October, when the prince of England did homage to the king of France for the duchy of Normandy [20].

War with France. This peace was of very ſhort duration. By an article in the treaty, the towns of Giſors, Neufle, and Newchatel, the marriage portion of the princeſs Margaret (the eldeſt daughter of the king of France by his ſecond queen), who had been promiſed in marriage to prince Henry about two years before, were to be delivered up, by the knights-templars, to whom they were then committed, into the hands of the king of England, as ſoon as the eſpouſals between the royal infants were celebrated, with the conſent of the church. The king of England dreading a change in the diſpoſitions of the French monarch, who had married a princeſs of the houſe of Blois, after a widowhood of only twelve days, and being very deſirous to ſecure his ſon's marriage

[20] Chron. Norman. p. 997.

with

with the French princeſs, and to get poſſeſſion of her fortune, prevailed upon the pope's legate to celebrate the eſpouſals between Henry and Margaret (who had been ſent into Normandy to be educated), though the prince was only ſix, and the princeſs only five years of age. As ſoon as this ceremony was performed, he demanded and obtained the three towns from the knights-templars, according to the ſtipulations of the treaty. The king of France was ſo much irritated at this tranſaction, that he baniſhed the three knights who had delivered up the three towns, and commenced hoſtilities againſt the king of England [21]. A.D. 1160.

The operations of this new war were of ſmall importance. For when the two armies lay near each other in the month of June, and neither of the kings diſcovered any inclination to attack the other, their common friends interpoſed their good offices, and a peace was concluded about Midſummer, on the ſame terms with the former [22]. This peace gave both kings an opportunity of attending to the affairs of the church, and particularly to the great diſpute between the two popes, Alexander III. and Victor IV.; on which ſubject each king having held a council of his clergy in July, they both met in a general council at Thouloufe in Auguſt, and agreed to acknowledge pope Alexander [23]. A.D. 1161. Treaty of peace.

21 W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 24. R. Hoveden, p. 282. M. Paris, p. 68. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, ann. 1160.

22 Chron. Norman. p. 998.

23 W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 9.

A.D.1162. Interview with the king of France.

Henry ſpent this year in great tranquillity on the continent, regulating the civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs of his foreign dominions; and for that purpoſe he held ſeveral aſſemblies of his prelates and nobility [24]. In autumn the kings of France and England had an interview with their pope, Alexander III. at Torcy on the Loire, at which theſe two great monarchs condeſcended to hold that pontiff's ſtirrups as he mounted his horſe, and to guide the reins of his bridle as they conducted him into the town [25]. Such was the real or political humility of princes, and the pride of prieſts, in thoſe ſuperſtitious times.

A.D.1163. Henry returns into England.

After an abſence of more than three years, king Henry landed at Southampton, January 26th, and was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy by his Engliſh ſubjects of all ranks [26]. Malcolm king of Scotland paid him a viſit this ſummer, and renewed the peace between the two kingdoms, giving his youngeſt brother David, and the ſons of ſome of his earls, as hoſtages for the performance of the conditions of the treaty, particularly for the ſurrender of ſome caſtles [27]. At the ſame time, viz. July 1ſt, Owen Guyneth, prince of North Wales, and Rheeſe, prince of South Wales, did homage to king Henry, and to prince Henry his eldeſt ſon, at Woodſtoke, for their reſpective principalities. In the courſe of this year, commiſſioners ap-

[24] Chron. Norman. p. 998.
[25] Id. ibid.
[26] Id. p. 999.
[27] Id. ibid.

pointed

pointed by the king took an inquiſition of all the knights' fees that were in England at the death of Henry I. and at this time, together with the various ſervices and preſtations due by each to the crown, to ſerve as a rule for exacting thoſe ſervices and preſtations[29]: a work ſtill preſerved in the exchequer, and, next to Doomſday-book, of the greateſt utility[29]. A.D. 1163.

The moſt important tranſactions of this and ſeveral ſucceeding years, conſiſted of the violent diſputes between the king and the famous Thomas Becket, now become archbiſhop of Canterbury; and belong more properly to the eccleſiaſtical than to the civil hiſtory of England[30]. A.D. 1164. Diſputes with Thomas Becket.

In Lent A. D. 1165, Henry went over into Normandy, and had an interview with the king of France at Giſors, about Eaſter; after which he was viſited at Rouen by his couſin Philip earl of Flanders, to whom he had been a very faithful guardian[31]. On his return into England, in ſummer, he received the ambaſſadors of the emperor Frederic, at Weſtminſter, who came to demand his eldeſt daughter Maude in marriage for Henry duke of Saxony and Bavaria, ſon of the late emperor Conrade; and they ſucceeded in their negotiation[32]. In the autumn he marched with a body of troops into Wales, and defeated a conſiderable army of the enemy, commanded by three of their princes. A.D. 1165. Voyage to Normandy, and return into England.

[28] M. Paris, p. 70, col. 2. Dicet. col. 536.
[29] Vide Lib. Rub. Scaccarii.
[30] See chap. 2.
[31] Chron. Norman, p. 1000.
[32] Powel, p. 222.

A.D.1166. Henry having ſpent the winter in England, he returned, in Lent A. D. 1166, to the continent, where his preſence was become neceſſary. Some of the powerful and factious barons of La Maine had formed a confederacy, and diſregarded the authority of queen Eleanor, who acted as regent of the dominions on the continent, where ſhe now reſided; and ſeveral barons of Britanny had alſo entered into this confederacy. Henry, conducting an army into La Maine, ſoon reduced the refractory nobility of that country to due ſubmiſſion, by taking and demoliſhing their caſtles.

Henry returns into Normandy.

Confederacy defeated.

Duke of Britanny reſigns his dominions to Henry, &c.

Conan duke of Britanny had ſome time ago betrothed his only child, Conſtantia, to Geoffrey, the king of England's third ſon; and now finding himſelf unable to keep his turbulent barons in ſubjection, he reſigned his duchy into the hands of that king, to be governed by him, for the benefit of Geoffrey and Conſtantia during their minority. Henry accepted of this reſignation, made a progreſs through Britanny, and received the homage of the barons and military tenants of that country, which was a conſiderable acceſſion to his power [33]. On December 5th, he was viſited, at Mount St. Michael in Normandy, by William, ſurnamed the *Lion*, king of Scotland, who had lately mounted that throne on the death of his brother Malcolm IV [34]. The affairs of the Chriſtians in the

[33] Chron. Norman. p. 1000. Chron. Trevel. ann. 1165.
[34] Chron. Mailros, ann. 1166.

Holy Land being at this time in great diſtreſs, A.D.1166.
Henry, with the conſent of his prelates and barons, impoſed a tax of two-pence in the pound for one year, and one penny in the pound for four years after, on the goods of all his ſubjects on the continent, and a ſimilar tax, in the ſame manner, on his Engliſh ſubjects, for their relief [35].

A miſunderſtanding aroſe in the beginning of this year between the kings of France and England, occaſioned by ſeveral matters of no great importance, in which their views and intereſts were incompatible. Both theſe monarchs raiſed armies, and took and deſtroyed towns and caſtles; but a ſtop was put to their deſtructive ravages, by a truce, which was concluded in the month of Auguſt, to continue till the ſucceeding Eaſter [36]. The empreſs Maude, who had formerly acted a diſtinguiſhed part in the affairs of Europe, but ſince the acceſſion of her illuſtrious ſon to the throne of England had lived in an honourable retirement at Rouen, died there on September 10th this year, and was buried in the abbey of Beec; to which ſhe had been a benefactreſs [37]. A.D.1167. War with France, and truce.

The barons of Poitou and Guienne, diſcontented with ſome meaſures of Henry's government, which are not mentioned, having ſecretly put themſelves under the protection of the king A.D.1168. Henry ſuppreſſes rebellions in Poitou, &c.

35 Chron. Trevel. ann. 1166.
36 Id. ibid.
37 Chron. Norman. p. 1101.

A.D.1168. of France, and given him hoſtages for their fidelity, broke out into open rebellion in the firſt months of this year. But they ſoon had reaſon to repent of their raſhneſs. For Henry, marching with great expedition into their country, took and demoliſhed their ſtrongeſt caſtles, and reduced them to the neceſſity of profeſſing their willingneſs to ſubmit to his authority, if he could recover their hoſtages from the king of France. To accompliſh this, he had an interview with that prince, between Mante and Pacey, about the end of the Eaſter holidays. But Louis abſolutely refuſed to give up the hoſtages, and only agreed to prolong the truce till Midſummer. In the meantime the barons of Britanny, who had ſecretly promiſed ſubjection and given hoſtages to the French monarch, threw off the maſk, and refuſed to obey Henry's commands to join his army. They had no better ſucceſs than their neighbours of Poitou and Guienne; their caſtles were ſeized, and they were conſtrained to offer ſubmiſſion on the ſame terms. This produced a ſecond interview between the two monarchs about Midſummer, in which the king of France refuſing to give up the hoſtages which he had received from Henry's rebellious barons, the truce was not prolonged, and an open war broke out, which continued ſeveral months without any memorable action [38].

[38] Chron. Norman. p. 1002.

Both

Both kings being at length weary of a war, which was very pernicious to their ſubjects, without being either honourable or advantageous to themſelves, a peace was concluded between them, January 6th, A. D. 1169. On this occaſion, prince Henry of England did homage to his father-in-law the king of France, for Anjou and Maine, as he had formerly done for Normandy; prince Richard, the king of England's ſecond ſon, did homage for Aquitaine; and Geoffrey, his third ſon, for Britanny [39]. The reſt of this year was ſpent in improving the fortifications of the frontier towns of Normandy, and in various negotiations with Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Canterbury, which will be related in the ſecond chapter of this book.

A.D. 1169. Peace with France.

The ceremonies of coronation and the royal unction were eſteemed more important and eſſential in the times we are now delineating than they are at preſent. Hence proceeded that extreme haſte that princes with diſputed titles diſcovered to have thoſe ceremonies performed upon them; and the deſire of many of the kings of France, to ſee their ſons crowned and anointed in their own lifetime as the moſt effectual ſecurity of their ſucceſſion. Henry, prompted by parental affection, and influenced by ſeveral political reaſons, had reſolved to have his eldeſt ſon prince Henry crowned and anointed king of England as ſoon as poſſible. But as he was

A.D. 1170. Henry returns into England, crowns his ſon prince Henry, and returns to Normandy.

39 Chron. Norman. p. 1002.

A.D.1170. now at variance with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who claimed an excluſive right to perform theſe ceremonies, the execution of this deſign was attended with no ſmall difficulty. Being ſenſible of this, he conducted it with great dexterity and art. Having brought all his dominions on the continent to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, he came over into England, from whence he had been abſent about four years, and, landing at Portſmouth, March 3d, ſoon after held a parliament or aſſembly of his great men. In this aſſembly commiſſioners were appointed to viſit each county in the kingdom, and to make ſtrict inquiry into the conduct of the ſheriffs and other magiſtrates during the king's abſence, and to bring the reſult of their inquiries to another great council to be held at London, June 4th. At this laſt aſſembly, William king of Scotland, David his brother, the prelates, earls, barons, ſheriffs, bailiffs, and aldermen of all England, were preſent, anxious and uncertain about the king's deſigns, when, to their great ſurpriſe, prince Henry, who had arrived from Normandy only the week before, was ſolemnly crowned and anointed king, by Roger archbiſhop of York; and, the day after, all the members of this aſſembly ſwore fealty to the young king, with a ſaving of the fealty they owed to his father [40]. About Midſummer king Henry the father re-

[40] Brompton, col. 1060. Gervas Cant. col. 1410. Benedict. Abbas, p. 4, 5.

turned

turned into Normandy, leaving the young king regent of England. He had an interview with the king of France, July 22d, in which that prince complained, that his daughter Margaret had not been crowned with her husband. But on Henry's assuring him, that this was owing only to the dispatch and secrecy that were necessary on that occasion, and promising that this defect should be supplied as soon as possible, he seemed to be contented. Soon after this interview, the king of England, being seized with a severe fit of sickness, made his will, and bequeathed to his eldest son the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, with the earldoms of Anjou and Maine, requiring him to make some provision for his youngest son John; to his second son, Richard, he left the duchy of Aquitaine; and to his third son, Geoffrey, the duchy of Britanny [41]. After his recovery from this sickness, he had a dispute with the king of France, about the archbishopric of Bourges, which produced one of those short and unimportant wars that were so frequent in the times we are now considering [42]. A.D.1170.

Henry II. had entertained thoughts of invading Ireland; and attempting the conquest of that island, very soon after his accession to the throne of England. In the second year of his reign, having obtained a bull from pope Adrian IV. who was an Englishman, authorising and exhorting him to that undertaking, he proceeded so A.D.1171. Henry takes Dermot king of Leinster under his protection.

[41] Benedict. Abbas, p. 56. [42] R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 298.

far

A.D.1171. far as to communicate his design to a great council of his nobility; but was dissuaded by his mother the empress from proceeding any further at that time [43]. An event happened A. D. 1168, which called his attention towards that island, and afforded him a specious pretence for intermeddling in its affairs. Dermot Macmorroh king of Leinster (one of the five kingdoms into which Ireland was then divided) having been expelled from his dominions by his own subjects, with the assistance of the kings of Meath and Connaught, for his tyranny and other vices, implored the protection of the king of England, promising to hold his kingdom of him as his sovereign lord, if he was restored to it by his aid. Though Henry, who was then in Guienne, was much pleased with this application, he was too much engaged in his disputes with the church and the king of France, to think of an immediate expedition into Ireland in person. But that Dermot might not be quite discouraged, he gave him letters-patent directed to all his subjects in England, and other countries, declaring that he had taken him under his protection, and giving them licence to aid and assist him in the recovering of his kingdom [44]. With these letters, and a decent appointment out of the royal treasury for his support, the exiled prince returned into England, and took up his residence at

[43] Chron. Norman. p. 991. Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 15.
[44] G. Cambrens. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 1, p. 760.

Briſtol, on account of its vicinity to his own dominions. A.D. 1171.

Here he entered into a negotiation with Richard de Clare, ſurnamed Strongbow, earl of Strigul or Pembroke, to whom he promiſed his daughter Eva in marriage, with the ſucceſſion to his kingdom at his death, on condition that the earl came over into Ireland next ſpring A. D. 1169, with ſufficient forces to reſtore him to his throne [45]. After the concluſion of this treaty, Dermot removed to St. David's, to be ſtill nearer Ireland, and engaged two noblemen of theſe parts, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzſtephen, to aſſiſt in his reſtoration, by the promiſe of large eſtates. Relying on the effect of theſe treaties, he ventured over into Leinſter in the winter; and being joined by Fitzſtephen in the ſpring, and afterwards by Fitzgerald, he recovered all his former dominions in the courſe of the campaign A. D. 1169 [46]. Elated, but not contented with this ſucceſs, he began to aſpire to the ſovereignty of all Ireland, and by frequent meſſages earneſtly ſolicited earl Strongbow to fulfil his engagements, by coming to his aſſiſtance with a powerful army. Expedition of ſome Engliſh barons into Ireland.

Though that earl had made great preparations for his Iriſh expedition, he durſt not venture to engage in it without the permiſſion of his ſovereign, when the object was not the reſtoration of Earl Strongbow's expedition into Ireland.

[45] G. Cambrenſ. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 2. p. 761.
[46] Id. l. 1. c. 3—12.

Dermot,

A.D.1171. Dermot, but the conqueſt of Ireland; and in order to obtain that permiſſion, he went over to the king in Normandy. Henry heſitated much about granting his requeſt; but having at length let fall ſome words which ſeemed to imply a grant of his deſire, the earl laid hold upon them, and haſtening into England, puſhed his preparations with the greateſt vigour. When he had collected an army of twelve hundred men, in which were two hundred knights, with a fleet ſufficient to tranſport them into Ireland, he received poſitive orders from the king to deſiſt from his enterpriſe. This threw him into great perplexity, and occaſioned ſome delay. But at length reflecting that he was ruined if he deſiſted, and had the proſpect of a ſplendid fortune if he proceeded, he ventured to ſail from Milford-haven, and landed near Waterford, Auguſt 23d, A. D. 1170, and a few days after took that town by ſtorm. Here he was joined by Dermot, and his marriage with Eva the eldeſt daughter of that prince was celebrated; after which, the forces of all the Engliſh adventurers being united to thoſe of the king of Leinſter, they took the city of Dublin, and reduced the whole kingdom of Meath before the end of that campaign[47]. On the 1ſt day of May A. D. 1171, Dermot king of Leinſter died at Fernes; and was ſucceeded in that kingdom by earl Strongbow, his ſon-in-law, without any oppoſition[48].

[47] G. Cambrenſ. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 13—18. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 26.

[48] Expug. Hibern. l. 2. c. 20. p. 771.

The

The news of the ſucceſſes of theſe adventurers in Ireland being carried to Henry, who was ſtill in Normandy, he was much offended with their preſumption, in ſlighting his orders, and attempting the conqueſt of kingdoms, which he had meditated. To put a ſtop to their further progreſs, he iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting any of his ſubjects from ſailing into Ireland, and commanding all thoſe who were in that iſland to return into England before the feaſt of Eaſter, on pain of perpetual baniſhment, and the confiſcation of their eſtates[49]. Strongbow was greatly alarmed at this proclamation, as it tended to deprive him of his followers, and indicated the high diſpleaſure of his ſovereign; to mitigate which he ſent Reymond, one of his greateſt confidents, to the king, to make him an offer of all his acquiſitions in Ireland, in the moſt humble and ſubmiſſive terms[50]. Though this offer could not fail to be agreeable to Henry, he received it with a ſullen ſilence, and Reymond was obliged to return to his maſter without any poſitive aſſurance of pardon. A.D. 1171. Henry's proclamation againſt theſe expeditions.

Henry having ſettled his affairs on the continent, and left his dominions there under the government of the young king his ſon, ſailed for England, and landed at Portſmouth Auguſt 3d. As ſoon as Strongbow heard of the king's arrival in England, he came over, and threw himſelf at his feet, imploring his pardon, and Henry's expedition into Ireland.

49 G. Cambrenſ. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 19.

50 Id. ibid.

reſigning

A.D.1171. reſigning all his conqueſts to his diſpoſal. Henry's reſentment being overcome by this ſubmiſſive deportment, he received him into favour; reſtored him his eſtate in England, which had been confiſcated; and even permitted him to retain a great part of the kingdom of Leinſter, to be held of the crown of England; but took the city of Dublin and all the towns on the coaſt into his own hands[51]. All things being now in readineſs for his Iriſh expedition, the king embarked his army on board a fleet of four hundred and forty tranſports, at Milford-haven, and ſailing from thence, with a fair wind, landed, October 26th, near Waterford, one of the towns reſigned to him by Strongbow, where he was received with joy. The fame of his arrival ſoon ſpread over all the country, and diſpoſed the petty princes of thoſe parts to make their ſubmiſſions, and acknowledge him as their ſovereign lord. He entertained them with great civility; and having received their homage, and oaths of fealty, and impoſed a moderate annual tribute upon each, as an acknowledgment of his ſovereignty, he diſmiſſed them with valuable preſents[52]. From Waterford he marched at the head of his army to Dublin, which he entered, November 21ſt, without having ſeen or heard of any enemy. In this city he celebrated the feſtival

[51] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 26.

[52] Benedict. Abbas, ann. 1171. p. 27. Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 30, 31.

of

of Chriſtmas, in a wooden palace erected for that purpoſe, in which he not only entertained the great men of his own court and army, but many of the Iriſh princes and chieftains, who were much ſurpriſed at the great plenty and variety of proviſions [53]. While he reſided in this city, Roderic king of Connaught, the ſupreme monarch of Ireland, had an interview, on the banks of the river Shannon, with Roger de Lacy and William Fitzaldelm, commiſſioners appointed to receive his homage, and ſettle his tribute, which they did: and by that tranſaction the conqueſt of the iſland was in a manner completed [54]. A.D. 1171.

The king ſpent the firſt months of this year at Dublin, in regulating the affairs of his new dominions, and in improving their police (which was very imperfect), by introducing the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms [55]. The Iriſh clergy, in the acts of a council held at Caſhel, 25th March this year, confeſs their obligations to their new ſovereign on this account, in very ſtrong terms, acknowledging, "That before his coming into "Ireland, many evil cuſtoms had prevailed "there, which by his power and wiſdom were "now aboliſhed [56]." Soon after Candlemas, Henry left Dublin, and took up his reſidence at Wexford, where he impatiently expected news from England. But a ſucceſſion of violent ſtorms A.D. 1172. Henry's return into England, and voyage to Normandy, &c.

53 Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 32. 54 Id. ibid.
55 M. Paris, p. 88. 56 Expug. Hibern. c. 34. p. 777.

inter-

A.D. 1172. interrupted all navigation between the two iſlands for ſeveral weeks. At length, about the middle of Lent, he received intelligence, that two legates from the pope, about the affair of Becket's murder, had waited for him ſome months in Normandy, and threatened to lay all his dominions under an interdict, if he did not ſoon appear. Though he ardently deſired to ſpend the ſummer in Ireland, he immediately prepared for his departure; and having put garriſons into all the places of ſtrength in his poſſeſſion, and appointed Hugh de Lacy (a nobleman in whoſe courage, wiſdom, and fidelity he repoſed the greateſt confidence) governor of Dublin, and chief juſticiary of the kingdom, he ſailed from Wexford on Eaſter Monday, and in the evening landed at Portfinnan in South Wales [57]. Paſſing with as much expedition as poſſible through Wales and England, he embarked, together with his ſon the young king, at Portſmouth, and landed at Barfleur in Normandy, on the 9th of May [58]. The king of France was ſo much ſurpriſed at the news of his arrival, that he cried out, "this Henry of "England rather flies than either rides or "fails [59]." At an interview between theſe two monarchs ſoon after, all their differences were, in appearance at leaſt, compromiſed, and young king Henry, with his queen, Margaret of

57 Expug. Hibern. l. 1. c. 35, 36, 37. Benedict. Abbas, p. 31, 32. R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 303.

58 Benedict. Abbas, p. 33. 59 Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 448.

France,

France, were ſent over into England, and were both ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter, Auguſt 27th, and immediately returned to the continent. On the arrival of theſe perſonages, a great council was held at Avranches, September 27th, in which the troubleſome affair relating to the murder of Thomas Becket was terminated, and king Henry the father received abſolution from the pope's legates; to procure which he promiſed, amongſt other things, to take the croſs next Chriſtmas for the recovery of the Holy Land, and in the mean time to give as much money to the knights templars as would maintain two hundred knights a whole year for the defence of Jeruſalem[60]. The king of France, pretending to have a ſtrong deſire to ſee his daughter the young queen of England, and his ſon-in-law, they were ſent to his court in November, where they continued till they were remanded by Henry, who began to be ſuſpicious that Louis, who never was his real friend, might give his ſon ſome improper advice[61]. A.D. 1172.

Henry was in great proſperity in the beginning of this year, and his proſperity ſeemed to be built on the moſt ſolid foundations. He was in the prime of life—had a numerous family of ſons and daughters, of whom he was remarkably fond, and for whom he had made the moſt munificent proviſions—his extenſive dominions were in a ſtate of the moſt profound tranquillity, and per- A.D. 1173. Conſpiracy formed againſt Henry by his ſons, &c.

60 See Brady's Hiſt. vol. 1. Append. n. 61, 62.
61 Benedict. Abbas, p. 37.

A.D.1173. fect ſubmiſſion to his authority—and his friendſhip was courted by all the princes of Europe. But, notwithſtanding all theſe fair appearances, he was really on the very brink of ruin. A mine was ready to be ſprung under him, which threatened his deſtruction. This mine was formed by his own family, who were the objects of his ſtrongeſt affection, and of whom he had merited the warmeſt returns of gratitude and duty. His eldeſt ſon Henry had ſome good, but many bad qualities. In particular, he was fond of flattery, extravagantly expenſive; and his vanity and ambition were both unbounded [62]. Being crowned at the age of fifteen, he became impatient to reign independent of his father. This impatience was inflamed by his mother queen Eleanor (who was enraged at her huſband on account of his gallantries), by her uncle Ralfe de Faye, by his father-in-law the king of France, and, in a word, by all who were about his perſon, or had any ſhare in his favour [63]. By theſe an unnatural conſpiracy was formed for dethroning Henry the father, and inveſting young Henry with all his authority. This plot was conducted with great ſecrecy; and beſides the king of France, ſeveral foreign princes were engaged in it, by extravagant grants made to them by the young king;—as William the Lion, king of Scotland, to whom were granted the counties of Cumberland and Northumber-

[62] Topographia Hiberniæ Diſtinct. 3. l. 49, 50. p. 752.
[63] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.

land;

land;—Philip earl of Flanders, to whom was granted the earldom of Kent; his brother Matthew earl of Boulogne, to whom were granted the county of Mortain in Normandy, and ſome lands in England;—and Theobald earl of Blois, to whom were granted an annuity, and all Henry's eſtates in Touraine [64]. Many of the moſt powerful barons, both in England and in all the provinces on the continent, were brought to join in this conſpiracy, together with the two young princes, Richard and Geoffrey [65]. A.D. 1173.

The laſt hand was put to this plot when young Henry reſided in the court of France, in the end of the preceding year; and on his return from thence, he demanded of his father the immediate and entire poſſeſſion either of the kingdom of England, or of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine. On receiving a refuſal to this demand, he was at no pains to conceal his diſcontent; and from thenceforward behaved in the moſt offenſive manner to his too indulgent father. Of this it will be ſufficient to give one example. Humbert earl of Maurienne and Savoy, being in the Engliſh court at Limoges in the beginning of this year, contracted his eldeſt daughter Adelais to prince John, king Henry's youngeſt ſon, February 2d, and in that contract granted all his dominions to the prince, if he died without male iſſue, and a very conſiderable part of them, even though he ſhould leave a ſon. King Henry being aſked by Undutiful behaviour of young Henry to his father.

[64] Benedict. Abbas, p. 50, 51.

[65] Id. p. 51, 52, 53.

A.D.1173. the earl, what eſtabliſhment he deſigned to make for his ſon, propoſed the three caſtles of Loudun, Chinon, and Merebeau. But to this he could not by the moſt earneſt entreaties procure the conſent of the young king, who totally diſregarded all his father's ſolicitations, though in favour of his brother, and for ſo ſmall a ſhare of ſo great an inheritance [66].

Young Henry flees from his father.

On this king Henry removed ſeveral perſons from about his ſon, who he imagined gave him bad advice, and placed others, of whom he had a better opinion, in their room. But this had no other effect, than to haſten his flight into France, which he accompliſhed about the middle of Lent. His afflicted father purſued him as far as Alençon; but finding he could not overtake him, and beginning to apprehend what ſoon after happened, he applied himſelf with great diligence to put his frontier towns and caſtles in the beſt poſture of defence [67].

The conſpiracy breaks out.

The flight of the young king was the ſignal of rebellion to all who were engaged in this conſpiracy. He was ſoon after followed by his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, and by a prodigious number of the barons of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and other countries [68]. Even queen Eleanor meditated a flight to the court of her former huſband, from whom ſhe had been divorced; but being apprehended in diſguiſe,

[66] Benedict. Abbas, p. 46.
[67] Id. p. 47. Trivet. Chron. ann. 1173.
[68] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.

ſhe

ſhe was kept in ſtrict confinement[69]. The defection from king Henry the father on this occaſion became ſo great that he knew not whom to truſt; and the world in general gave him up for loſt. A.D. 1173.

Though the ſpirit of this brave prince was wounded in the moſt tender part by the revolt of his own children, and of many on whom he had beſtowed the greateſt benefits, it was ſo far from being broken, that he never diſplayed greater activity, wiſdom, and valour, than at this trying juncture. He ſent ambaſſadors to the court of France to expoſtulate with Louis for encouraging and ſupporting his ſons in their rebellion; —he wrote accounts of this event to all the princes of Europe;—he ſolicited the Pope to launch the thunders of the church againſt his undutiful children, and their accomplices;—he diſpatched letters to all the governors of his towns and caſtles, to be upon their guard, and prepare for their defence;—and to all his barons in whom he had any confidence, to be in readineſs with their followers; and he took no fewer than twenty thouſand Brabançons (a kind of ſoldiers of fortune) into his pay[70]. Wiſe conduct of king Henry.

It ſoon appeared that none of theſe precautions were unneceſſary. For immediately after Eaſter the flames of war broke out at once in many different places. The king of France, with Open war in many places.

69 Gervas Chron. p. 1424.

70 R. Hovedeni Annal. p. 306, 307. P. Bleſins Epiſt. 153. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.

A.D. 1173. young Henry, at the head of a prodigious army, entered Normandy on one ſide, and inveſted Verneuil. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne entered it on the other, and laid ſiege to Aumale; while the rebellious barons of Anjou, Maine, Aquitaine, and Britanny, took the field, and deſolated the royal demeſnes in theſe provinces [71]. Nor did England enjoy greater tranquillity. For the king of Scotland invaded Cumberland, beſieged Carliſle, and deſtroyed the adjacent country with fire and ſword; while the vaſſals of the rebellious earl of Leiceſter, and others, appeared in arms in the centre of the kingdom [72].

Remarkable events of this war on the continent.

In the midſt of all theſe dangers Henry continued ſerene and cheerful, waiting at Rouen with his Brabançons, and a few of his faithful barons, for an opportunity to act with efficacy; truſting much to the ſtrength of his fortified places, and to the fidelity and valour of his garriſons. The earls of Flanders and Boulogne appeared at firſt the moſt formidable of his enemies, having taken in a ſhort time the towns of Aumale, Neuchatel, and Driencourt. But at the laſt of theſe places the earl of Boulogne received a wound in his knee, of which he died in a few days; and his brother the earl of Flanders was ſo much affected with grief at this diſaſter, and with remorſe for the unnatural war in which he was engaged, that he retired out of Normandy with his own troops, and thoſe of

[71] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 27.

[72] Benedict. Abbas, p. 54.

Boulogne [73]. Delivered from thoſe dangerous enemies on that ſide, Henry began to think of acting offenſively againſt his other foes. With this view he marched from Rouen to attempt the relief of Verneuil, which had been bravely defended, but was now reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions. The king of France treated the firſt reports of his approach with ſcorn, as thinking them incredible. But when he found them real, he raiſed the ſiege, and retired into his own territories, Auguſt 9th, with ſuch precipitation, that he left his camp a prey to his enemies. The French barons were ſo much diſcouraged with this ill ſucceſs, that, the legal time of their ſervice being ended, they diſbanded [74]. The defection of the barons of Britanny had been the moſt general, and they had done the greateſt miſchief; and therefore Henry, immediately after the diſſolution of the French army, detached a great body of his brave and truſty Brabançons into that province, who defeated the rebels in a pitched battle, Auguſt 20th, and ſhut up all the chiefs of them in the caſtle of Doll, to which they had fled for refuge. As ſoon as Henry received this agreeable news, he ſet out from Rouen, and, travelling all night, arrived at Doll next morning, and preſſed the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that the earl of Cheſter, the baron de Fougers, and about a A.D. 1173.

73 R. Hovedeñ. Annal. p. 306. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 28.
74 Id. ibid.

A.D.1173. hundred other nobles, were obliged to surrender at discretion, August 26th, and were sent to different prisons[75]. The news of these events struck such terror into the rebellious barons in the other provinces, that they dismissed their followers, and retired to their castles. Thus were all the numerous enemies of Henry on the continent dissipated in a few months, with little loss or labour.

Events of this war in Britain.

Nor were his adversaries in Britain more successful. For Richard de Lucy, chief justiciary, took the town of Leicester, July 28th, which belonged to Robert de Bellomont, earl of Leicester, the king's most inveterate enemy, who was then with the young king in France. After this marching northward, with Humphrey de Bohun high constable of England, and other loyal barons, they compelled the king of Scotland, who had committed the most horrid ravages in the northern counties, to retire into his own dominions; into which they followed him, and would probably have committed equal ravages, if they had not received intelligence, that the earl of Leicester had landed near Walton castle in Suffolk, October 17th, with an army of Flemings. Carefully concealing this intelligence from the king of Scots, they concluded a truce with that prince to the feast of St. Hilary; and marching into the south with great expedition, encountered and defeated the earl of Leicester's army

[75] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 29.

near

near St. Edmondſbury, November 1ſt, taking that earl, with his counteſs, and ſeveral noblemen priſoners [76]. Thus ended this active campaign, in a manner equally glorious and happy to the elder Henry; who, in December, concluded a truce with the kings of France and Scotland, from the feaſt of St. Hilary, to the end of the Eaſter holidays next year [77]. A.D. 1173.

Though the operations of war were ſuſpended for ſome months, by the truce and the ſeaſon of the year, preparations for it were going forward. The confederates reſolving to make the moſt vigorous efforts, eſpecially againſt England, formed the following plan for the operations of the next campaign. While the king of Scotland invaded the northern counties, the young king Henry, with the earl of Flanders, whoſe ambition had conquered his remorſe, were to land in the ſouth, at the head of a powerful army of Flemings; and ſeveral Engliſh earls, who had been perverted from their duty, were to riſe with their followers in different counties, to increaſe the public confuſion. To detain the elder Henry on the continent, the king of France (accompanied by the two young princes, Richard and Geoffrey) was to invade Normandy with all his forces [78]. A.D. 1174. Plan of the conſpirators for this campaign.

In conſequence of this well-concerted plan, the king of Scotland, at the expiration of the Operations of the war.

[76] Benedict. Abbas, p. 69, 70. M. Paris, p. 89.
[77] Benedict. Abbas, p. 72. [78] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 31, 32.

truce,

A.D.1174. truce, entered England with a great army, and ſpread terror and deſolation over all the northern counties; while David earl of Huntington, brother to the king of Scots, Robert earl of Ferrers, Hugh Bigot earl of Norfolk, Roger de Mowbray, and the numerous vaſſals of the two powerful earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter, took the field at the head of their followers in their reſpective counties. If the young king, with the earl of Flanders, had landed at this time, England muſt have ſubmitted to their authority. But by their delays the whole ſcheme was diſconcerted. Richard de Lucy, with ſome loyal barons, made head againſt the rebels in the centre of the kingdom; while the well-affected nobility of Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire, commanded and animated by Geoffrey, biſhop-elect of Lincoln, king Henry's natural ſon by the fair Roſamond, defeated Roger de Mowbray, and put a ſtop to the progreſs of the king of Scotland, obliging him to retire nearer to his own dominions [79].

Arrival of Henry in England, and viſit to the tomb of T. Becket.

When things were in this poſture, king Henry, having put his territories on the continent in the beſt ſtate of defence, embarked at Barfleur, July 8th, and landed that evening at Southampton, bringing with him the two queens, Eleanor and Margaret, with the captive earls of Cheſter and Leiceſter. Influenced by motives, about which we can only form uncertain gueſſes, he haſtened

[79] R. Hoveden, p. 307, 308. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 32. Benedict. Abbas, p. 73, 748. Anglia Sacra, l. 2, p. 378, 379.

to

to Canterbury, to perform his devotions at the A.D.1174.
ſhrine of Thomas Becket, who was now eſteemed the guardian of the Engliſh nation, and was become the favourite object of their adoration. Having ſpent a whole day and night in proſtration, faſting, and prayer, before the tomb of Becket, and expoſed his naked ſhoulders to the flagellations of the monks, he received abſolution, and ſet out for London; where he arrived, July 13th,—a day diſtinguiſhed by one of the moſt memorable and happy events of his reign—the captivity of the king of Scotland [80].

That prince had inveſted Alnwick caſtle; and fancying himſelf ſecure from the approach of any enemy, had ſent out the bulk of his forces in three different bodies, to plunder the adjacent countries, retaining only his houſehold troops about his perſon, to reſtrain the excurſions of the garriſon. The famous Ranulph de Glanville, then ſheriff of Yorkſhire, afterwards chief juſticiary of England, receiving intelligence of this ſtate of things, collected a choice body of about four hundred knights, with which he arrived at Newcaſtle in the evening of July 12th. Here he halted a few hours to refreſh his men and horſes, and marching about day-break, approached very near the enemy's camp next morning, quite undiſcovered, under the cover of a thick fog. When the fog cleared up, Alnwick caſtle was ſeen at a ſmall diſtance, and the king

King of Scotland taken priſoner.

[80] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 35.

of

A.D.1174. of Scots, with about ſeventy knights, engaged in the faſhionable exerciſe of tilting in a neighbouring field. The king was not in the leaſt alarmed at the ſight of theſe armed troops, believing them to belong to his own ſubject Duncan earl of Fife. Even when he diſcovered that they were enemies, he was ſo far from attempting to ſave himſelf by flight, that ſhaking his ſpear, and crying to his attendants, "it will now be ſeen "who is a good knight," he boldly advanced to the attack. But his horſe being killed in the firſt encounter, he was thrown to the ground and taken priſoner; at which his followers were ſo much confounded that they either fled or yielded.

Conſequences of that event.

Henry being awakened from his ſleep at midnight, by the meſſenger who brought the news of this event, leapt from his bed, and wept for joy, commanding all his friends to be called to him immediately, and all the bells of London to be rung to proclaim the happy tidings[81]. Nor was this exceſſive joy without foundation. For the captivity of the king of Scots blaſted all the ſchemes of the confederates, and put an end to the troubles of England almoſt in a moment. The Scotch army immediately retired, and the ſeveral corps of which it was compoſed quarrelling amongſt themſelves, gave their enemies ample revenge for the injuries they had done them. The rebellious barons laboured to anticipate one

[81] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 23. 25. Benedict. Abbas, p. 77, 78. R. Hoveden, p. 308, 309.

another

another in making their ſubmiſſions, and giving up their caſtles; and young Henry, with the earl of Flanders, who were ready to ſail with a great fleet and army, no ſooner heard of theſe events, than they laid aſide all thoughts of an invaſion. A.D. 1174.

The king of France having ſummoned all his nobility to attend him, with their followers, marched at their head, and ſat down before Rouen, the capital of Normandy, July 21ſt, where he was ſoon after joined by young Henry and the earl of Flanders, with all their forces, which enabled him to puſh the ſiege with great vigour, and without intermiſſion. But the city was defended with equal vigour by the inhabitants, and ſeveral loyal barons who had thrown themſelves into it with their vaſſals, and repelled all the open aſſaults of the beſiegers, and alſo defeated an attempt that they had made to take it by ſurpriſe, on St. Laurence's day, Auguſt 10th, when a truce had been proclaimed [82]. The king of France beſieges Rouen.

Henry, hearing of the danger of his Norman capital, and having ſettled his affairs in England, embarked at Portſmouth, Auguſt 7th, with his Brabançons, and a thouſand Welſh, whom he had taken into his pay; carrying with him the king of Scots, and the two potent earls of Cheſter and Leiceſter; but leaving the two queens behind him. He met with a favourable paſſage, and landed next day at Barfleur, having Henry returns to Normandy, and raiſes the ſiege of Rouen.

[82] W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 36.

ſpent

A.D. 1174. ſpent no more than one month on this moſt fortunate expedition, by which he ſaved his kingdom from the moſt imminent danger. Committing his royal and noble captives to priſon at Falaiſe, he marched towards Rouen, which he entered by the bridge over the Seine, on Sunday, Auguſt 11th, and was received with every poſſible demonſtration of joy. Next morning he commanded the gate towards the enemy's camp, which had been walled up, to be opened, and the ditch to be filled; and ſent his Welſh troops into the neighbouring woods, who were ſo fortunate as to take a large convoy of proviſions. The beſiegers now deſpairing to take the city, became anxious about their retreat, in order to which the king of France ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a conference to be held at Malauny, and a truce for two days; to both which Henry conſented. Under the protection of this truce, Louis marched his army through the Green Foreſt; but inſtead of halting at Malauny to attend the conference, he purſued his march with great precipitation into his own territories [83].

Henry concludes an honourable peace.

Though the king of France had eſcaped from a dangerous ſituation by this diſhonourable ſtratagem, he was now convinced that all his efforts to ruin Henry would be in vain, and might end greatly to his own diſgrace. He therefore ſeriouſly propoſed a conference to be held at a place between Tours and Amboiſe; where an

[83] R. de Diceto, col. 573. J. Brompt. col. 1098.

end

end was put to this unnatural war, September 29th, by a peace, of which Henry prescribed the terms. By this peace the formidable confederacy against him was dissolved, and all who had been engaged in it released from their oaths. His three rebellious sons threw themselves at his feet, implored his pardon, and acknowledged his authority as a father and a king; and he assigned them appointments for their support, more suitable to his own generosity than to their merits. All prisoners were set at liberty on both sides, and restored to their estates, except the king of Scots, and the earls of Leicester and Chester, with whom a separate peace was to be made. A total oblivion of all injuries on both parts was declared, and young Henry agreed to confirm all the grants that had been made by his father during the war [84]. A.D. 1174.

Thus did this great prince, by his wisdom, valour, activity, and good fortune, baffle all the attempts of a powerful combination, which seemed to threaten him with inevitable ruin. Nor was his lenity on this occasion less conspicuous than his other virtues. He set at liberty, without any ransom, no fewer than nine hundred and sixty-nine noblemen and gentlemen; and even those few who were excepted out of this pacification were not treated with severity. The kingdom of Scotland, after the captivity of its Great lenity of king Henry.

84 Benedict. Abbas, p. 87—92. W. Neubrigen. l. 2. c. 38. R. Hoveden, p. 309, 310. Rymer Fœdera, p. 37, 38.

king,

A.D.1174. king, became a ſcene of the moſt deplorable anarchy and confuſion, which made that prince and his nobility willing to ſubmit almoſt to any terms to procure his liberty; and Henry very prudently embraced this opportunity of reducing both to a feudal ſubjection to the crown of England. On this ſingle condition a peace was concluded at Falaiſe, December 8th, and the king of Scots engaged that he and his ſucceſſors, kings of Scotland, together with all their prelates and barons, ſhould do homage and ſwear fealty to Henry and his ſucceſſors, kings of England; for the due performance of which, in the firſt inſtance, certain hoſtages were given, and the king was ſet at liberty [85].

A.D.1175. Henry's kind treatment of his ſons.

Henry, who was a very fond indulgent parent, was ſo much delighted with the recovery of his ſons out of the hands of his enemies, that he treated them, not only with the greateſt kindneſs, but with the greateſt confidence; giving to the young king a commiſſion in Normandy; to prince Richard in Poitou; and to prince Geoffrey in Britanny, to command the forces of theſe provinces, for executing the late treaty, by diſmantling certain caſtles belonging to their own adherents [86].

Seemingly perfect reconciliation between

When the time approached for their returning into England, young Henry began to betray ſome fears (which are ſaid to have been ſuggeſted

[85] Rymer Fœdera, t. 1. p. 39, 40.
[86] Benedict. Abbas, p. 95—97.

by meſſages from the king of France) that his father might treat him with greater ſeverity, and even put him in priſon in that kingdom. But theſe fears being at length diſpelled, he threw himſelf once more at his father's feet, in the caſtle of Bure, near Caen, April 1ſt, profeſſing his ſorrow for his former undutifulneſs, with many tears, and earneſtly intreating him to allow him to do homage, and ſwear fealty, like his other ſubjects, as a token of his forgiveneſs. This was accordingly done; and Henry was ſo fully convinced of his ſon's ſincerity and ſteadineſs, that he ſent him to the court of France (where he had been formerly ſeduced) to take his leave of his father-in-law; from whence he returned to his father at Cherburg; where they celebrated the feſtival of Eaſter; after which they embarked together at Barfleur, and landed, May 9th, at Portſmouth [87]. For ſome time after their landing, the two kings conſtantly eat together at the ſame table, and even ſlept together in the ſame bed [88], to convince the world of the cordiality of their reconciliation. In order to make the terms of the late pacification more firm and better known, they were read and ratified in a great council or parliament held at Weſtminſter, May 20th, in which young Henry renewed his homage, and repeated his oath of fealty to his father [89]. After this king Henry the father (ac-

A.D. 1175. Henry and his eldeſt ſon, and their return together into England.

[87] Diceto, col. 585, 586. Benedict. Abbas, p. 96, 97.
[88] M. Paris, p. 91.
[89] Diceto, col. 588.

A.D.1175. companied by the young king) made a progreſs into thoſe parts of the kingdom, where the defection of the nobility had been moſt general, to ſee their caſtles demoliſhed, and to puniſh them by heavy fines for their tranſgreſſions of the foreſt-laws; in which he ſeems to have had two ends in view,—the repleniſhing his own treaſury, which was much exhauſted,—and impoveriſhing his diſloyal ſubjects [90].

King and nobility of Scotland do homage to Henry and his ſon.

In this progreſs the two kings were met at York, Auguſt 10th, by William king of Scotland, with all the prelates, earls, barons, and freeholders of his kingdom, who, according to the convention at Falaiſe, did homage to both kings, and ſwore fealty, firſt to king Henry the father, and then to king Henry the ſon, ſaving their fealty to the father; on which their hoſtages were ſet at liberty [91]. Thus was this important tranſaction of the feudal ſubjection of the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the crown and kingdom of England completed.

King of Connaught ſubmits to Henry.

At the return of the two kings from their northern progreſs, they held a great council at Windſor, about Michaelmas, where a treaty was concluded with the ambaſſadors of Roderic O'Connar, king of Connaught, by which that prince agreed to hold his kingdom of the king of England, and to pay by way of tribute the

90 Benedict. Abbas, p. 112.

91 Benedict. Abbas, p. 113—120. R. Hoveden, p. 312. M. Paris, p. 91.

tenth

tenth hide of all the cattle killed in his dominions [92]. A.D.1175.

Since their return from Normandy, Henry had kept his ſon almoſt continually in his company, with a view to gain his affections by the kindeſt and moſt reſpectful treatment, as well as to inſtruct him in the arts of government. But this ſoon became irkſome to the young king, who ardently deſired to be at a diſtance from ſo grave a monitor, that he might enjoy greater liberty. With this view he frequently ſolicited his father to give him leave to pay a devotional viſit to St. James of Campoſtella. The king for ſome time reſiſted theſe ſolicitations; but at length was obliged to yield to the teaſing importunity of his ſon, who was waiting at Portſmouth for a fair wind, when his two brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, landed at Southampton, on Good Friday. This brought Henry back to court to viſit his brothers; and his father prevailed upon him to accompany his brother Richard into Poitou, to aſſiſt him in reducing the refractory barons of that province: and on that expedition he ſailed from Portſmouth, April 19th [93]. But as ſoon as he reached the continent, he paid little regard to his father's injunctions, or his own engagements, ſpending his time in the company of thoſe who had been his greateſt confidents in his former revolt. Henry, informed of his ſon's ſuſpicious conduct, A.D.1176. Henry ſends his three ſons, Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, into Poitou.

92 Rymer Fœdera, p. 41, 42. Benedict. Abbas, p. 122—126.
93 Benedict. Abbas, p. 140, 141.

A.D.1176. endeavoured to guard againſt its conſequences, by demoliſhing ſome of the caſtles of thoſe barons who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and taking others of them into his own poſſeſſion [94].

A.D.1177. Though Henry was under a neceſſity of diminiſhing the power of ſome of his barons who were of doubtful loyalty, he took much greater pleaſure in pardoning, when he imagined it would be productive of a good effect. Of this he gave the cleareſt proof, in pardoning the two potent earls of Leiceſter and Cheſter, who had been excepted out of the late pacification, and reſtoring to them their great eſtates, in a parliament held at Northampton in January this year [95].

Henry pardons the earls of Cheſter and Leiceſter.

In another great council held at Marlborough, about Candlemas, orders were given to all the ſheriffs to make a ſtrict inquiry into the number of knights fees in their reſpective counties; and a proclamation was iſſued to all who held of the king by knights ſervice, to attend him at London, May 1ſt, with their horſes and arms, in order to an expedition into Normandy [96]. But the report of theſe preparations ſeems to have rendered the uſe of them unneceſſary.

Great council at Marlborough.

Henry was no leſs famous over all Europe for his wiſdom and juſtice as a judge, than for his

Diſputes between the kings

[94] R. Hoveden, p. 317.
[95] R. Hoveden, p. 320. Benedict. Abbas, p. 166.
[96] Id. Benedict. Abbas, 170, 171.

power

power and greatneſs as a king; which engaged Sanchez king of Navarre, and Alphonſo king of Caſtile, to make a reference to him of all their differences, which had been the occaſion of long wars and much bloodſhed. In conſequence of this, both theſe princes ſent the moſt learned and eloquent advocates to plead their cauſe, which was ſolemnly heard in a great council held at London, March 13th, and determined in a manner perfectly agreeable to both parties [97]: a tranſaction more honourable to Henry than many victories. A.D. 1177. of Caſtile and Navarre, determined by Henry in a parliament at London.

Much important buſineſs was tranſacted in another great council held at Oxford, in May, at which the princes and chief lords of Wales attended, and did homage to Henry for their territories and eſtates. In this council he declared his youngeſt ſon prince John lord of Ireland, to be held by him and his heirs, as a fief under the crown of England; and deſtributed the conquered countries in that iſland, to ſuch of his barons as he thought moſt deſerving, and moſt able to defend and enlarge theſe conqueſts [98]. About this time queen Margaret (conſort of young Henry), who had ſecretly withdrawn from England, was delivered of a ſon at Paris, who died ſoon after his birth [99]. Tranſactions of a parliament at Oxford.

A new ſubject of diſpute, which continued long, and was attended with the moſt important Henry's voyage to Norman-

97 Benedict. Abbas, l. 1. p. 172—195. Hoveden, Annal. p. 321—323. Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 43, 44.

98 Benedict Abbas, p. 206—269.

99 Hoveden, p. 324.

A.D.1177. dy. Interview with the king of France, &c.

conſequences, now broke out between the king of France and the king of England. By one of the articles of the peace concluded between theſe two monarchs at Montmirael, January 6th, A. D. 1169, it was agreed, that prince Richard, Henry's ſecond ſon, ſhould marry the princeſs Adelais, Louis's youngeſt daughter; and that princeſs was ſoon after delivered to Henry, to be educated in the court of England[100]. As both the parties were now become marriageable, Louis inſiſted that their marriage ſhould be conſummated without delay; to which Henry (who is ſaid to have contracted a criminal affection for the princeſs) diſcovered a reluctance, which could never be overcome. Louis, finding all his own applications ineffectual, prevailed upon the pope to interpoſe his authority, who threatened to lay all Henry's dominions under an interdict, if he did not immediately allow the marriage to be completed. To ward off this blow, he embarked at Portſmouth, Auguſt 17th, and had an interview with the king of France, at which a legate from the pope was preſent, September 21ſt; in which he managed matters with ſo much art, as to prevent the interdict, and elude the immediate completion of his ſon's marriage, by conſenting to take upon him the croſs, and engaging to go (in company with Louis, who

[100] Epiſt. J. Sariſburin, apud Epiſt. S. T. Cantuarien, l. 2. p. 66. Epiſt. 268.

took

took upon him the croſs at the ſame time) on an expedition into the Holy Land [101]. A.D.1177.

Though Henry had taken the croſs, it is not very certain that he ever ſeriouſly intended to conduct an army into the Holy Land, as he always had recourſe to excuſes when he was urged to perform that engagement. Having ſpent the firſt ſix months of this year in regulating the civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs of his continental dominions, he landed, July 15th, in England, and there employed his time to the ſame beneficent purpoſes. On Auguſt 6th, he knighted his third ſon Geoffrey, with great ſolemnity at Woodſtock; who ſoon after went abroad to diſplay his valour and dexterity in tournaments, emulous of the fame which his two elder brothers, Henry and Richard, had acquired in thoſe faſhionable exerciſes [102]. A.D.1178. Henry returns to England. Knights his ſon Geoffrey, &c.

The frequent abſences of Henry from his kingdom, were attended with many ill effects, and, in particular, encouraged ſome of his ſheriffs, foreſters, and other officers, to venture upon acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, which they durſt not have attempted under the eye of their ſovereign. Being now at leiſure, he called many of theſe delinquents to a ſevere account, and made ſeveral new arrangements for the better adminiſtration of juſtice, which will be more A.D.1179. Henry puniſhes ſeveral ſheriffs.

[101] Hoveden. Annal. p. 326. Benedict. Abbas, l. 1. p. 230—242.
[102] Id. ibid. p. 266.

A.D. 1179. properly delineated in the third chapter of this book [103].

A.D. 1180. Henry returns to Normandy. Compoſes the diſputes in the royal family of France.

Henry's attention was again called to the continent by ſome important changes that had lately happened in the royal family of France. Louis VII. having been ſeized with a palſy, his only ſon Philip, a youth of about fifteen years of age, was crowned, with his conſent, and took upon him the adminiſtration of affairs; in which he was wholly directed by Philip earl of Flanders. At the inſtigation of this prince, the young king treated his own mother queen Adelais, and her three brothers, the earls of Blois and Sancerre, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, with ſo much ſeverity, that they retired into Normandy, and implored the protection of the king of England [104]. On this occaſion Henry acted a very noble part. Inſtead of fomenting the diſcord in the royal family of France, as Louis had done in his, he laboured to reſtore its peace. In order to this, he made a voyage into Normandy, and had an interview with king Philip at Giſors, in which he reconciled that prince to his mother and uncles, on reaſonable terms, in ſpite of all the oppoſition made to it by the earl of Flanders. In this interview alſo he renewed the peace with Philip that he had made with Louis about three

[103] Diceto, col. 605. Petri Bleſenſ. Epiſt. 95.
[104] Hoveden. p. 339. Benedict. Abbas, p. 325, 326.

years

years before, and concluded with that prince an alliance for their mutual defence [105]. A.D. 1180.

When Henry had ſettled all his affairs in Normandy, and was ready to embark for England, he received an embaſſy from the young king of France, earneſtly intreating his aſſiſtance to compoſe the differences which had again broke out in his court and family. In conſequence of this intreaty he returned to Giſors, and once more allayed the ſtorm that raged with great violence in the court of France, between the parties of the queen-mother and the earl of Flanders; after which he embarked at Cherburg, and landed at Portſmouth, July 26th [106]. A.D. 1181. Henry returns to England.

As all Henry's extenſive dominions now enjoyed a profound peace, he thought it the beſt time to provide for their future ſecurity and defence. With this view he publiſhed his famous aſſize of arms, as it is called, a regulation ſo wiſe and uſeful, that it was immediately adopted by ſeveral other nations. By this law every earl, baron, and knight, was to have conſtantly in his poſſeſſion as many complete ſuits of armour (each ſuit conſiſting of a coat of mail, a helmet, a ſhield, and a lance) as he had knights fees. Every freeman who had rents or goods to the value of ſixteen marks, was to have one ſuit of the ſame armour; every freeman who had only ten marks, was to have a habergeon, a cap of iron, Henry's aſſize of arms.

105 Rymer Fœdera, l. 1. p. 53, 54. Id. ibid. p. 325—329.
106 Id. ibid. p. 263, 264.

A.D.1181. iron, and a lance; and every free burgeſs was to have a wambois, a cap of iron, and a lance. Theſe arms were neither to be lent, ſold, pawned, nor given for payment of debt, but kept in conſtant readineſs for uſe [107].

A.D.1182. Henry returns to Normandy, and again compoſes the differences in the court of France.

Henry was again called to the continent by the diſputes in the court of France, which had now broken out into a civil war. But he was for ſome time prevented from making that voyage by contrary winds, and did not land in Normandy till about Midlent. Having procured an interview after Eaſter with the king of France, and the heads of the two contending parties, he once more reſtored tranquillity to that diſtracted court and kingdom [108].

Henry's kindneſs to the duke of Saxony his ſon-in-law.

While he was engaged in this beneficent tranſaction, ſo worthy of a great and good king, he received the melancholy news of the expulſion of his ſon-in-law, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, from all his territories, by the united forces of the emperor and empire. About the end of July, that unhappy prince, his afflicted conſort, his infant family, and a few faithful friends, who had not abandoned them in their diſtreſs, arrived in Normandy; and were received by Henry with the moſt ſoothing tenderneſs. On the duke and his family he ſettled a maintenance ſuitable to their rank and his affection; and on their faithful attendants he be-

[107] Benedict. Abbas, p. 365—368. Hoveden, p. 351.
[108] Benedict. Abbas, p. 373, 374.

ſtowed

ſtowed valuable preſents, and procured them permiſſion to return to their native country [109]. A.D. 1182.

Nor was this his only domeſtic uneaſineſs at this time. For his eldeſt ſon Henry, who had ſpent much of his time, for ſeveral years, in frequenting tilts and tournaments, attended by an expenſive retinue of knights, importunately demanded the ceſſion of Normandy to enable him to reward his followers; and meeting with a refuſal, retired into France in violent diſcontent. But by frequent meſſages, and generous offers of an eſtabliſhment of one hundred pounds of Anjouvine money a-day for himſelf, ten pounds of the ſame money for his conſort, and ſuitable rewards for one hundred knights, he prevailed upon him to return, and profeſs his ſatisfaction with this appointment [110]. Henry prevents a rupture with his eldeſt ſon.

Henry was earneſtly deſirous of increaſing and perpetuating the harmony which now ſubſiſted in his family, and amongſt his ſons, by adding the feudal ties, which were then eſteemed inviolable, to thoſe of blood. At Angers, in the beginning of this year, he held an aſſembly of his nobles; in which he propoſed, that his ſons, Richard and Geoffrey, ſhould do homage to their eldeſt brother Henry, for their reſpective territories of Aquitaine and Britanny, that they might be engaged to ſupport one another by the mutual obligations eſtabliſhed by that ceremony. Geoffrey complied with his father's will, and did A.D. 1183. Rupture in the royal family of England.

[109] Benedict. Abbas, p. 377. [110] Id. p. 378. 380.

A.D.1183. homage to his brother for Britanny; but Richard rejected the propoſal with ſo much haughtineſs, that it occaſioned an immediate and moſt violent animoſity between him and his eldeſt brother. Theſe fiery ſpirits immediately flew to arms, and the war was carried on between them with ſo much rancour, that no quarter was given on either ſide. Their afflicted father for ſome time did not interpoſe. But at laſt, obſerving that his ſecond ſon Richard was in danger of being overpowered by the united forces of his two brothers, and of ſome powerful barons of Aquitaine, who had revolted, he raiſed an army, and marched to his relief. This brought on a treaty between the contending parties near Limoges, which was managed with great duplicity on the part of the two aſſociated brothers; and the elder Henry, ſuſpecting no harm when engaged in a negotiation with his own children, was twice in danger of being killed [m].

Death of young king Henry.

During this negotiation, the mind of young Henry was agitated—by the moſt violent rage againſt his brother Richard—by the ſtrongeſt reſentment againſt his father for interpoſing in his behalf—and by the moſt tormenting uncertainty, whether to venture a battle or ſubmit to peace. At length he was perſuaded by his brother Geoffrey, and the revolted barons of Aquitaine, to hazard a battle. But the horror attending this unnatural reſolution, added to his other paſ-

[m] Benedict. Abbas. p. 385, &c.

ſions,

ſions, threw him into a fever. When his phyſicians acquainted him, that they had no hopes of his recovery, his ſoul was ſeized with bitter remorſe and anguiſh for his repeated rebellions againſt his indulgent parent, to whom he ſent a meſſage, expreſſing his repentance, and earneſtly intreating a viſit. Henry, prevented from complying with this requeſt by the repreſentations of his friends, took a ring from his finger, and ſent it to his ſon as a mark of his forgiveneſs. The dying prince received it with much emotion, and preſſing it to his lips, ſoon after expired (June 11th) on a heap of aſhes, where he had commanded himſelf to be laid, with a halter about his neck, and in fearful agonies of mind[112]. When Henry was aſſured of his ſon's death, all his fortitude of mind and ſtrength of body failed him. He fainted away thrice; after which a flood of tears coming to his relief, he broke out into loud lamentations, extolling the beauty, bravery, and other good qualities of the departed prince, and forgetting all his faults[113]. On the death of young Henry, his army diſbanded, his confederates haſtened to make their ſubmiſſions, and the public tranquillity was reſtored. A.D.1183.

Henry, after the death of his eldeſt ſon, became deſirous of making ſome new arrangements in the diſpoſal of his territories amongſt his ſur- A.D.1184. Freſh diſputes between

[112] Benedict. Abbas, p. 392, 393. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 7. R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 354. [113] Benedict. Abbas, p. 394.

A.D.1184. Henry and his sons. He returns to England. Expedition into Wales, &c.

viving sons, which unhappily gave rise to new disputes in his family. As Richard was now become heir apparent to the kingdom of England and the duchy of Normandy, his father proposed that he should resign Aquitaine in favour of his youngest brother John. Richard required a few days to consider of this proposal; at the end of which he returned a refusal in the strongest terms, declaring, that no man should ever possess Aquitaine while he lived [114]. Henry, much offended at this refusal, placed his favourite son John, now seventeen years of age, at the head of an army, in hopes of terrifying Richard into a compliance, and in the mean time went himself into England, where he landed June 13th [115]. The Welsh had committed some ravages on the English borders during the king's absence; but as soon as he approached their territories with an army, their prince, Rees ap Griffin, waited upon him, and made the most humble submissions. While he was engaged in this expedition, he received the unwelcome news, that an actual war had broken out between his sons abroad: on which he sent messengers, commanding them to dismiss their forces, and come to him immediately; which none of them dared to disobey. At their arrival, Henry held a great council of his prelates and nobility at London, November 30th, in which his three sons were publicly reconciled.

[114] Benedict. Abbas, p. 404.

[115] Id. p. 406.

conciled. After which Geoffrey was ſent back to the continent, and the other two remained in England [116]. A.D. 1184.

Queen Eleanor, who had been ſeveral years in a ſtate of confinement, was ſet at liberty on the arrival of the duke and ducheſs of Saxony, with their family, in England, in the ſummer of the preceding year, and now lived on decent terms with her royal conſort, when the king's ambaſſadors brought the emperor's permiſſion to the duke of Saxony to return into Germany, with hopes of being reſtored to ſome part of his dominions; which diffuſed the greateſt joy over the Engliſh court. When Henry was in good humour on account of this agreeable news, he yielded to the ſolicitations of his ſon Richard, and permitted him to return into Aquitaine, and then ſet out on a progreſs into the north of England [117]. A.D. 1185. Engliſh court in a ſtate of tranquillity.

When Henry had reached Nottingham, in his way to York, he was overtaken by a meſſenger, with the news, that Heraclius, the patriarch of Jeruſalem, was arrived in England. On which he returned, and received him at Reading. The patriarch, falling at the king's feet, accoſted him in this pathetic ſtrain: "The Lord Jeſus "Chriſt, O king! calls thee, and the people of "God intreat thee, to come to the defence of "the Holy Land; and in their name I preſent "thee with the royal ſtandard, with the keys of The patriarch of Jeruſalem arrives in England, and endeavours to excite Henry to an expedition into the Holy Land.

[116] Benedict. Abbas, p. 415. [117] Id. p. 432.

"the

A.D. 1185. "the city of Jeruſalem, and of the ſepulchre of "our Lord. Come, O great prince! and reſcue "us out of the hands of our enemies; for in "thee, under God, we place all our hope and "confidence." The king raiſed the patriarch from the ground, and promiſed to conſult with his prelates and nobles on the ſubject of his petition [118]. A great council was accordingly held at London, on the firſt Sunday of Lent; in which, after long deliberation, it was agreed, that it was more proper for Henry to ſtay at home, and govern his own dominions, than to go on ſo diſtant an expedition; and that he ſhould conſult with the king of France before he gave a final anſwer to the patriarch; but that ſuch prelates, nobles, and others, as pleaſed, might take the croſs [119]: a liberty which too many embraced.

Henry grants Huntington to the king of Scotland, and ſends his ſon prince John into Ireland.

Another council was held at Windſor, April 1ſt, in which Henry made a grant of the county of Huntington to William king of Scotland, who was preſent; and having ſolemnly knighted his own youngeſt ſon prince John, he ſent him into Ireland, with a conſiderable army [120].

Henry goes into Normandy, and reduces his

The king of England's preſence was now become very neceſſary on the continent, to extinguiſh a freſh war that had broken out between his two reſtleſs and ambitious ſons, Richard and

[118] Benedict. Abbas, p. 434. R. Hoveden, p. 359.
[119] Diceto, col. 626. Benedict. Abbas, p. 435.
[120] Id. ibid. Hoveden, p. 359. Expug. Hibern. l. 2. c. 3.

Geoffrey;

Geoffrey; and therefore, embarking at Dover, April 16th, he landed at Whitſand, and from thence went by land into Normandy, where he immediately raiſed an army. But, being unwilling to proceed to extremities with his own children, he ſent a meſſage to prince Richard, commanding him to lay down his arms, and reſign the duchy of Aquitaine to his mother queen Eleanor, to whom it belonged; threatening, that if he did not obey, that princeſs ſhould appear at the head of an army, and take poſſeſſion of it by force. Richard, by the advice of his wiſeſt friends, complied with this command; and coming to his father, was again received into favour [121]. A.D. 1185. Son Richard to obedience.

After this, Henry had a conſultation with the king of France, on the affairs of the Holy Land, at which Heraclius was preſent. But neither of theſe princes could be prevailed upon to undertake a croiſade in perſon, though they both promiſed very conſiderable aids in men and money, with which the patriarch was far from being contented [122]. Henry hath a conference with the king of France about the Holy Land.

Prince John's expedition into Ireland this year was unſucceſsful, owing to the imprudent and inſolent behaviour of the prince himſelf, and of the young nobility in his retinue, to the Iriſh chieftains, by which the well-affected were diſguſted, and the diſaffected were confirmed in Ill ſucceſs of prince John's expedition into Ireland.

[121] Benedict. Abbas, p. 436. [122] Id. p. 437.

A.D.1185. their oppoſition[123]. Having therefore ſquandered away a great ſum of money, and loſt the beſt part of his army, he returned into England, December 17th, leaving the chief direction of affairs in Ireland to the brave John de Curcy.

A.D.1186. Henry, after holding a conference with the king of France, returns into England.

A few days before the beginning of Lent this year, Henry had an interview with Philip king of France at Giſors; in which ſome diſputes that had ariſen about the dowry of queen Margaret, widow of young king Henry, were amicably adjuſted; and Henry alſo ſolemnly engaged no longer to delay the marriage of his ſon Richard with the princeſs Adelais[124]. But he found means to elude the fulfilling of this engagement, by ſending his ſon to proſecute a war, the cauſes of which are not mentioned, againſt the earl of Thouloufe, while he himſelf came over into England, where he landed April 27th.

Death of prince Geoffrey.

Henry's ſecond ſurviving ſon Geoffrey, not contented with the duchy of Britanny, petitioned his father for the earldom of Anjou; which was refuſed. Irritated at this repulſe, and being naturally of a reſtleſs intriguing diſpoſition, he retired to the court of France, and engaged in very criminal machinations againſt his royal father, and the peace of his dominions. But, while he was thus employed, he was ſeized with a fever, occaſioned by the bruiſes he had received in a tournament, and died at Paris, Auguſt

[123] Expug. Hibern. l. 2. c. 35.
[124] Benedict. Abbas, p. 444.

19th.

19th [125]. Though an exceſſive fondneſs for his children was one of Henry's greateſt failings, he was not much affected with the news of his death, as he was no ſtranger to his reſtleſs deceitful character, and the pernicious ſchemes in which he was engaged. A.D. 1186.

Geoffrey left only one daughter, an infant, who was the innocent occaſion of a breach between the kings of France and England. For Philip ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, claiming the guardianſhip of the heireſs of Britanny, and the government of her dominions during her infancy; and threatening to declare war againſt him, if theſe things were not granted. Though this claim was ill-founded, Henry, being averſe to an immediate rupture, ſent ambaſſadors to the court of France, who procured a truce to the beginning of the next year, which was afterwards prolonged to Eaſter [126]. Diſpute between Henry and the king of France, about the guardianſhip of the heireſs of Britanny.

Henry, deſirous of avoiding a war with the king of France, embarked for Normandy, February 20th, and held two conferences with that prince, in the months of March and April; but without effect: Philip being much irritated, and with good reaſon, that the marriage of his ſiſter with prince Richard had not been completed; and that Henry kept that princeſs in a kind of captivity in England [127]. War being A.D. 1187. War between Henry and Philip concluded by a truce.

125 Diceto, col. 630.
126 Hoveden, p. 361. Benedict. Abbas, p. 455.
127 Gervas Chron. col. 1486.

A.D.1187. now unavoidable, both kings took the field at the head of very great armies; and, after various operations of leſs importance, they were on the point of engaging in a general action, June 21ſt, when the pope's legates, who were in the king of England's army, interpoſed their good offices, and brought about a truce for two years [128].

Undutiful behaviour of prince Richard.

After the concluſion of this truce, prince Richard viſited the king of France, in his camp, and from thence accompanied him to Paris, and contracted ſo intimate a friendſhip with him, that it ſurpriſed the whole world, and greatly alarmed his father, who ſent frequent meſſages, intreating him to return, and promiſing to deny him nothing that he could reaſonably deſire. The prince, after various delays, at length promiſed to comply; but when he was on his way, he ſeized a conſiderable treaſure of his father's at Chinon, with which he went into Poitou, and began to fortify his towns and caſtles. Though Henry could not but be much offended at this undutiful behaviour, he ſtill purſued the method of negotiation; and at laſt prevailed upon Richard to come to him at Angers; where he repeated his oaths of fealty and allegiance before a great aſſembly [129].

Birth of Arthur duke of Britanny.

In the mean time Conſtantia ducheſs-dowager of Britanny was delivered of a poſthumous ſon, March 29th; who, at the requeſt of the nobles

128 Gervas Chron. col. 1500. Benedict. Abbas, p. 467, 468.
129 Id. p. 471.

of

of that duchy, was named Arthur; and his mother was appointed guardian of his perſon and dominions, under the protection and ſuperintendency of his grandfather Henry [130]. A.D. 1187.

Towards the end of this year the melancholy news arrived from the Holy Land, that the Chriſtian army had been entirely defeated, and the city of Jeruſalem taken, by the famous Saladin ſultan of Egypt; which filled all Europe with conſternation, and excited many princes, and, amongſt others, Richard Plantagenet prince of England, to take the croſs [131]. Prince Richard takes the croſs.

Though Henry had often promiſed to conclude the marriage of his ſon Richard with the princeſs Adelais, he ſtill delayed, on various pretences, the conſummation of that marriage. At this her brother Philip king of France was greatly irritated, and raiſed an army with a deſign to compel him to fulfil his promiſe, or to deliver up the lady, together with Giſors and its territories. To avert this ſtorm, he had an interview with Philip, near Giſors, January 21ſt; at which William archbiſhop of Tyre, ambaſſador from the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, was preſent, and repreſented their deplorable ſituation in ſuch affecting ſtrains, that the two kings, forgetting the original intention of their meeting, took the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop; A.D. 1188. The kings of England and France, &c. take the croſs.

[130] W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 7.

[131] R. Hoveden, p. 362—365. Benedict. Abbas, p. 471—493. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 17, 18.

A.D 1188. in which they were imitated by the earl of Flanders, the earl of Champagne, and many other nobles [132].

Henry returns to England, and makes preparation for a croiſade.

Henry haſtened into England, where he landed January 31ſt, to make preparations for his expedition into the Eaſt, and held a great council of his prelates and barons at Gritington in Northamptonſhire, February 11th; in which a tenth of all rents for one year, and a tenth of all moveable goods, except the books of the clergy and arms of the laity, were granted to defray the expences of the intended croiſade. But all who took the croſs were exempted from the payment of theſe taxes. Even with this exemption, one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds were raiſed; a ſum equal in efficacy to two millions of our preſent money [133]. Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterbury preached, before this aſſembly, a very pathetic ſermon, on the myſtery of the holy croſs, and perſuaded prodigious numbers of prelates, nobles, knights, and others, to inliſt in this holy war. With the ſame intention, and no leſs ſucceſs, he afterwards made a progreſs through Wales [134].

War breaks out on the

While great preparations were making in England, for the projected expedition into the Eaſt,

[132] Itinerarium Gauf. Vinſauf. l. 1. c. 17. Benedict. Abbas, p. 495, 496. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 23.

[133] Hoveden, p. 366. Benedict. Abbas, p. 496, 497. Gervas Chron. col. 1529.

[134] Vide Itinerarium Cambriæ, apud Camden, Anglica Normanica &c. p. 820, &c.

a war

a war broke out on the continent, between the earl of Thoulouſe and prince Richard duke of Aquitaine, which was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, though it proceeded only from a trifling diſpute about ſome merchants. The earl of Thoulouſe, ſeeing many of his towns taken, and his capital threatened with a ſiege, implored the protection of his ſovereign the king of France; who warmly eſpouſed his cauſe, and marched at the head of a great army, into the king of England's territories in Berry, where he took ſeveral towns. Henry, aſtoniſhed at the news of this unexpected invaſion, ſent ambaſſadors to expoſtulate with that prince, and, if poſſible, to prevent a war. But theſe ambaſſadors were ill received, and returned without any ſatisfactory anſwer; which obliged Henry to haſten to the continent, where he landed July 11th, and immediately retaliated the hoſtilities of the king of France [135].

A.D. 1188. continent, in which Henry engages.

This war was very diſagreeable to the earl of Flanders, and ſeveral other princes, who were impatient to proceed on their expedition into the Holy Land; and, at their requeſt, the two kings held one conference in October, and another in November. In the laſt of theſe conferences, a ſcene opened that involved the king of England in great perplexity and diſtreſs, from which he never recovered. At this conference, the king of France (who had made a private agree-

Conference between the kings of England and France, in which prince Richard forſakes his father, and joins the king of France.

[135] Benedict. Abbas, p. 503—516.

A.D.1188. ment with prince Richard) propoſed to put an end to the war, and reſtore all his conqueſts in Berry, on theſe two conditions,—that the marriage of his ſiſter Adelais and Richard ſhould be immediately conſummated—and that all Henry's ſubjects in England and on the continent ſhould do homage to Richard as the heir of all his dominions. The prince declared his entire ſatisfaction with theſe propoſals, earneſtly preſſing their acceptance; and when they were rejected by Henry, Richard, in the preſence of the whole aſſembly, went over to Philip, and did homage to him for Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Berry, and Aquitaine[136]. After this tranſaction the conference broke up in great confuſion.

A.D.1189. Death of Henry II. As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, king Philip, accompanied by prince Richard, and many barons of Normandy and Aquitaine, who had revolted with that prince, invaded Henry's territories with fire and ſword[137]. About Eaſter hoſtilities were ſuſpended, and a conference appointed by the influence of the pope's legate, who had been ſent into France to attempt the reconciliation of the two kings. In this conference, which was held, at la Ferté Bernard, June 5th, Philip made the ſame propoſals as formerly; but prince Richard added another, That his brother John ſhould accompany him to the Holy Land, that he might not have an opportunity of ſupplanting him in his abſence.

[136] Benedict. Abbas, p. 521.

[137] Id. p. 534.

All

All theſe conditions being equally diſagreeable to Henry, they were rejected by him, and the war was renewed with great fury: but that proſperity and good fortune which had long attended this great prince, now forſook him, and he was obliged to flee before his enemies [138]. In this reverſe of fortune, when he was purſued from place to place by his eldeſt ſon Richard, he was baſely abandoned by his youngeſt and favourite ſon John, who deſerted to his enemies. This laſt event, added to all his other cauſes of chagrin, gave a mortal wound to his affectionate heart, and threw him into a fever, of which he died, at Chinon, on Thurſday July 6th, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and the fifty-ſeventh of his age [139]. A.D. 1189.

Thus died Henry II. who was certainly the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed prince that had filled the throne of England ſince the Norman conqueſt, and inferior to very few of our princes in any period. In his perſon (which is very minutely deſcribed by ſeveral contemporary writers), he was of middle ſtature, remarkably ſtrong and active, but inclining to corpulency, which he guarded againſt by abſtemiouſneſs and continual exerciſe. His countenance was comely, and his eyes had a mild luſtre, except when he was angry; and then they were uncommonly fierce and ſparkling. In the very laſt years of His character.

138 W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 25. Hoveden, p. 372.

139 Benedict, Abbas, p. 546. W. Neubrigen. l. 3. c. 25.

his

A.D.1189. his life he mounted a horſe with greater agility, and rode with greater ſpirit, than any of his courtiers, either in hunting or on a journey. In his deportment he was exceedingly polite and affable, except to perſons of a haughty ſpirit and carriage, whom he delighted to humble. His converſation was pleaſant and facetious; his elocution eaſy, eloquent, and graceful. His heart was warm, and his paſſions ſtrong, which rendered him an ardent lover, but not a faithful huſband,—a zealous friend, but formidable enemy,—a kind maſter, and too indulgent parent. His underſtanding, which was naturally good, was improved by an excellent education, under his uncle the earl of Gloceſter, by aſſiduous reading of the beſt books, particularly hiſtory, and by frequent converſation with the wiſeſt men; by which means he became the moſt learned prince and the greateſt politician of the age in which he flouriſhed. His memory was ſo tenacious, that he remembered almoſt all he read or heard, and never forgot a face he had once ſeen. He avoided war from principles of prudence and humanity; but when it became neceſſary, he carried it on with ſo much courage, conduct, and activity, that he conſtantly baffled all the ſchemes of all his enemies. In the arts of peace he greatly delighted and excelled; being a ſtrict and vigorous, but not unmerciful juſticiary, a munificent patron of learning and learned men, and a great encourager of the arts, expending immenſe ſums in fortifying towns and caſtles, repairing

repairing old and building new palaces, and adorning them with gardens, parks, and fiſh-ponds. In a word, one of his greateſt enemies acknowledges, "That he was endowed with ſo "many excellent qualities, both natural and "acquired, that there was no prince in the "world comparable to him [140]." A.D. 1189.

THE internal hiſtory of Wales, in this period, conſiſts of a prodigious number of battles, ſkirmiſhes, mutual invaſions, depredations, and murders, between the petty princes of its ſeveral principalities; a minute relation of which would ſwell this work, without affording either entertainment or inſtruction to its readers [141]. Hiſtory of Wales.

Malcolm IV. ſurnamed *the Maiden*, mounted the throne of Scotland about a year before the acceſſion of Henry II. to that of England; and being a prince of a feeble conſtitution and pacific temper, was ill qualified for contending with that powerful and enterpriſing neighbour. Accordingly he relinquiſhed the northern counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, without a ſtruggle, to Henry; and in an interview with that prince at Cheſter, A. D. 1157, he did homage to him for the county of Huntington, with a ſaving of his royal dignity [142]. Malcolm Hiſtory of Scotland.

[140] Epiſt. S. Thom. l. 1. ep. 103. Epiſt. Petri Bleſenſ. ep. 66. Hibern. Expug. Girald. Cambren. l. 1. c. 45. J. Sariſburienſ. de Nugis Curialium, l. 6. c. 18.

[141] See Powel's Hiſt. Wales, p. 205—240.

[142] Chron. Mailros, ann. 1157.

accom-

A.D. 1189. accompanied Henry in his expedition againſt Tholouſe A. D. 1159, and was knighted by him in the city of Tours. But this conplaiſance of his to the Engliſh monarch was very diſagreeable to many of the Scotch nobility, who gave him a very indifferent reception on his return to Scotland; and the few remaining years of his reign were diſturbed by frequent inſurrections [143]. Malcolm died of a lingering diſeaſe, at Jedburgh, December 9th, A. D. 1165; and was ſucceeded by his brother William, ſurnamed *the Lion*, whoſe wars with England, captivity, and ſubmiſſion to pay homage, and hold his kingdom of Henry, have been already mentioned. After William recovered his liberty, A. D. 1174, he reduced the people of Galloway, who had revolted in the time of his captivity, and obliged Gilbert, the lord of that country, to do homage to the king of England, and to himſelf [144]. Though the yoke to which this king of Scotland had ſubmitted to regain his freedom, was, no doubt, very galling both to himſelf and to his ſubjects, he made no attempt to throw it off; but lived in conſtant peace and amity with the king of England; and was married to Ermingard, a near relation of that monarch, at Woodſtoke, September 5th, A. D. 1186 [145]. As William ſurvived Henry II. more than twenty-five

[143] Chron. Mailros, ann. 1157. Buchan. Hiſt. p. 124.
[144] Benedict. Abbas, ann. 1176. [145] Id. ibid.

years,

years, the moſt important and fortunate events of his reign will be related in the next ſection of this chapter. A.D.1189.

SECTION IV.

The civil and military hiſtory of Great Britain, from the acceſſion of Richard I. A. D. 1189, *to the death of king John*, A. D. 1216.

Acceſſion and coronation of Richard I.

RICHARD, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon of Henry II. having paid the laſt honours to the remains of his illuſtrious father, with marks of contrition for his former undutiful behaviour, and having alſo ſettled the affairs of his foreign dominions, landed at Portſmouth, Auguſt 13th, and was crowned at Weſtminſter, September 3d[1].

Slaughter of the Jews.

This ſolemnity occaſioned a prodigious concourſe of people from all parts of England. Amongſt others, many wealthy Jews came to London, to conſult with their brethren in that city about making a free gift of great value to the king on his acceſſion. Richard had iſſued a proclamation, that none of that people ſhould preſume to enter either the church or Weſtminſter-hall on the day of his coronation. Some of them being detected preſſing into the hall, were aſſaulted at firſt with opprobrious language, and afterwards

[1] Hoveden, p. 373. 374. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 1.

with

A.D. 1189. with ſticks and ſtones. The Jews, perceiving their danger, fled towards the city, purſued by an enraged mob; amongſt whom a cry aroſe, that the king had given orders to put all the Jews to death. This cry proved fatal to many of that hated nation; who were maſſacred in the ſtreets. Others, who retired to their houſes, were either burnt in them, or ſlain in attempting to eſcape. The tumult gradually increaſed, and ſpread into all parts of the city. Hatred, inflamed by avarice and religious zeal, rendered the mob ungovernable; and all attempts to quell them were in vain, till wearied with ſlaughter, and overloaded with booty, they retired to ſecure their prey. The king juſtly offended at this outrageous violation of the laws, and contempt of his authority, in the very beginning of his reign, commanded a few of the ringleaders of the mob to be hanged [2].

First acts of Richard's adminiſtration very gracious.

Some of the firſt acts of Richard's government were gracious and beneficent. He was ſo far from diſcovering any reſentment againſt thoſe who had adhered to his father, and oppoſed himſelf, that he continued them in their places, and honoured them with peculiar marks of his royal favour. He immediately releaſed his mother queen Eleanor from her long confinement, allowed her a conſiderable ſhare of power, and, in particular, gave her authority to ſet all priſoners at liberty,

[2] W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 1. Benedict. Abbas, p. 560. M. Paris, p. 108.

who

for A.D. 1189.

who were confined for trangreſſions of the foreſt-laws, and ſeveral other crimes. His brother prince John he loaded with riches and honours, beſtowing upon him at once no fewer than eight caſtles, with the eſtates annexed to them, and the government or earldoms of ſeven counties [3]: favours that made him a formidable enemy, inſtead of an affectionate brother and obedient ſubject.

Richard collects money, troops, &c. and embarks on his expedition into the Holy Land.

As Richard was the firſt prince in Europe who aſſumed the croſs, on the news of the victories of Saladin over the Chriſtians in the Holy Land; ſo his thoughts were chiefly employed at this time about collecting money, and making preparations of all kinds for his expedition into the Eaſt, in conjunction with the king of France. In his father's coffers at Wincheſter, he found a prodigious maſs of treaſure, amounting, according to ſome writers, to nine hundred thouſand pounds, but according to others, only to ninety thouſand pounds, in gold and ſilver, beſides plate, jewels, and precious ſtones [4]. To this he added immenſe ſums by the ſale of the royal caſtles, manors, parks, woods, and foreſts. Nay, ſo great was his rage for money, that the higheſt honours, and moſt important offices, became venal. He even ſold the ſuperiority of the crown of England over the kingdom of Scotland,

3 Benedict. Abbas, p. 555. R. Hoveden, p. 374. col. 1. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 3.

4 Benedict. Abbas, p. 553. M. Paris, p. 107. col. 2. R. Hoveden, p. 374.

the

A.D.1189. the moſt glorious acquiſition of his father's reign, for the paultry ſum of ten thouſand marks, equivalent to about one hundred thouſand pounds of our preſent money [5]. By theſe and various other methods, ſome of them very diſhonourable and unjuſt, Richard amaſſed a much greater treaſure than had ever been in the poſſeſſion of any king of England; which was all diſſipated in this romantic expedition. While he was thus employed, Rotrow, earl of Perche, arrived in England in November, and acquainted him, that the king of France, with all his barons, had ſolemnly ſworn, in a council held at Paris, that they would appear with their followers at Vezilay, before the cloſe of next Eaſter; requiring the like ſecurity from Richard and his barons, that they would appear at the ſame time and place; which was granted [6]. Having conſtituted William Longchamp biſhop of Ely, and Hugh biſhop of Durham, regents of the kingdom in his abſence, he embarked at Dover, December 11th; and landed in the evening near Gravelines; from whence he marched through Flanders into Normandy [7].

A.D.1190. An interview with the king of France for ſettling the

The monarchs of England and France, attended by their principal prelates and nobility, had an interview about the middle of January, at Gué St. Reme, to ſettle all the preliminaries of their

[5] Benedict. Abbas, p. 568. M. Paris, p. 109. Hoveden, p. 376. 378.

[6] Benedict. Abbas, p. 570.

[7] Id. p. 579.

intended

intended expedition. At this interview the two kings took a ſolemn oath of mutual friendſhip and defence, and agreed, that if either of them died on the voyage, the other ſhould have his money and the command of his forces: and finding that it would not be poſſible to have all things in readineſs againſt Eaſter, the general rendezvous at Vezilay was put off to Midſummer [8]. Richard held a great council on Engliſh affairs, February 2d, in which he obliged prince John and his natural brother Geoffrey, now archbiſhop of York, to ſwear, that they would not return into England for three years: but he afterwards imprudently releaſed them from the obligation of that oath. After this council he diſmiſſed William biſhop of Ely (who had lately been appointed the pope's legate for England, Scotland, and Ireland), and ſent him over to take upon him the government of his kingdom, and haſten the preparation of ſhips, men, and horſes, for his expedition [9]. A.D. 1190. preliminaries of their expedition.

Many of the Engliſh who had aſſumed the croſs, and were preparing for their voyage into the Holy Land, imagined it would be a good beginning of their pious enterprize, to murder as many Jews as poſſible, and ſeize their riches. In conſequence of this imagination, many thouſands of that devoted nation were butchered in cold blood, at Norwich, Stamford, York, and other Maſſacres of the Jews.

[8] Benedict. Abbas. p. 583. R. Hoveden, P. 879.

[9] Id. ibid.

A.D.1190. places, in the months of March and April this year [10]. The croiſaders who were concerned in theſe cruel maſſacres, made haſte to embark in their holy warfare, and thereby eſcaped the puniſhment that they juſtly deſerved for their injuſtice and barbarity.

The kings of England and France arrive at Meſſina with their armies, where they winter.

When the time appointed for the general rendezvous approached, the two kings put themſelves at the head of their reſpective armies, and marched towards the plains of Vezilay, where they arrived in the laſt week of June. When their forces were united, they amounted to one hundred thouſand of the braveſt troops of France and England [11]: an army that would have been invincible if the ſcene of action had not been ſo diſtant. Inſtructed by the misfortunes of the leaders of former croiſades, who had marched by land into the Eaſt, they had wiſely reſolved to go by ſea, and for that purpoſe had provided fleets. From Vezilay the whole army decamped, July 1ſt, and marched in one body to Lyons; where the two kings ſeparating, Philip, with his army, marched towards Genoa, where they were to embark, and Richard towards Marſeilles, where he expected his fleet; having, before they ſeparated, appointed their next rendezvous to be at Meſſina in Sicily. Richard reached Marſeilles before the arrival of his fleet from England, which had been diſperſed by a

[10] W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 7, 8, 9.
[11] Gaufred. Viniſauf. Iter. Hieroſol. l. 2. c. 9.

ſtorm; and becoming impatient of delay, he embarked with his houſehold on board three large buſſes and twenty galleys, Auguſt 7th, leaving directions to his army and fleet to follow him to the place of rendezvous as ſoon as poſſible [12]. The Engliſh fleet arrived at Marſeilles Auguſt 22d; and ſailing from thence with the army on board, about the end of that month, reached Meſſina September 14th; and, two days after, the French fleet, with Philip and his army, entered the ſame harbour; as king Richard alſo did, September 23d, in great pomp, with enſigns flying and trumpets ſounding [13]. At this place the two kings wintered; Philip with his army in the city of Meſſina, and Richard with his army in the ſuburbs. A.D. 1190.

Tranſactions at Meſſina.

It was hardly to be expected that two ſuch numerous armies, compoſed of nations who had long been rivals, and often enemies, ſhould remain ſix months in one place, without any diſputes with one another, or with the people of the country. There were ſeveral ſuch diſputes happened at Meſſina in the courſe of this winter, which deſtroyed that ſincere and cordial friendſhip between the two kings, ſo neceſſary to the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe, and to which they were engaged by the moſt ſolemn oaths. Of this theſe two princes at length became ſenſible; and in order to extinguiſh the preſent, and prevent

[12] Benedict. Abbas, p. 590. 594. G. Viniſauf. l. 2. c. 10.
[13] M. Paris, p. 112, 113. Benedict. Abbas, p. 604, 605.

A.D.1190. all future animoſities, a treaty was concluded, in which, amongſt many other articles, Richard was releaſed from his obligations to marry the princeſs Adelais, king Philip's ſiſter, to whom he had been long contracted [14].

Treaties between Richard and Tancred king of Sicily.

The king of England had alſo ſeveral cauſes of complaint againſt Tancred king of Sicily, who had lately uſurped that throne, and detained queen Jane, king Richard's ſiſter, and widow of William II. in priſon, becauſe ſhe had oppoſed his uſurpation; declining to pay her dower, and a valuable legacy left by William to his father-in-law, Henry II. But Tancred, finding himſelf in no condition to diſpute any of theſe points with Richard at the head of ſo great an army, immediately releaſed the queen-dowager, and ſent her to her brother, with an offer of twenty thouſand ounces of gold, as a full compenſation for her dower, and an equal ſum for the late king's legacy. Theſe offers were accepted by Richard; who became ſo fond of Tancred, or of his treaſures, that he contracted his nephew and heir, Arthur duke of Britanny, to one of that king's daughters, and received another twenty thouſand ounces of gold as her marriage-portion [15].

A.D.1191. Queen Eleanor and the princeſs Berengaria

King Richard had been long in love with Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, but did not think it prudent to marry her during his father's life, and while he was under engage-

14 Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 69. 15 Benedict. Abbas, p. 612, 613.

ments

ments to the princeſs Adelais [16]. At his ſetting out on his expedition into the Eaſt, he prevailed upon his mother queen Eleanor to accompany the princeſs of Navarre to Naples, where they arrived over land in February this year, eſcorted by the earl of Flanders; and it being improper on ſeveral accounts to bring them to Meſſina, they took up their reſidence at Brindiſi, till after the departure of the king of France, who ſailed towards the Holy Land, March 30th. On the day after, queen Eleanor, with the princeſs Berengaria, landed at Meſſina; where the former ſtaid only four days, and then embarked for England; but the latter was committed to the care of the queen-dowager of Sicily, who had reſolved to accompany her brother into the Holy Land [17].

A.D. 1191. arrive at Meſſina, from whence the king of France had ſailed.

Richard, impatient to reach the ſeat of war, where he expected to gather many laurels, would not ſtay at Meſſina to celebrate his marriage, but ſailed from thence, April 10th, with a gallant army, on board a fleet of about two hundred ſhips and galleys; which was unfortunately overtaken, two days after, by a violent ſtorm. The king, with the greateſt part of the fleet, put into a harbour in Crete; but miſſing three of his largeſt ſhips, in one of which his royal bride and his ſiſter queen Jane had embarked, he ſent in queſt of them; and was ſoon informed, that two of theſe ſhips had been ſtranded on the coaſt

Richard ſails from Meſſina.

16 G. Viniſauf. l. 2. c. 26. 17 R. Hoveden, p. 392.

A.D. 1191. of Cyprus, and all their crew either drowned, or imprisoned by the sovereign of the country; and that the other, with the princesses on board, was riding before Limisso, the capital of the island, having been refused admittance into the harbour [18].

Richard conquers Cyprus, and solemnizes his marriage with Berengaria.

Richard immediately sailed to Cyprus; and having received a haughty refusal to a respectful request for leave to enter the harbour of Limisso, from Isaac, a vain-glorious tyrant, who then reigned in Cyprus, and had assumed the pompous title of emperor, he landed his army, defeated the tyrant in two battles, and at length obliged him to surrender his person, his country, and a beautiful princess, his only child, to the conqueror. This important conquest detained him some time in Cyprus; where he solemnized his marriage with the princess Berengaria, May 12th, who was the same day crowned queen of England [19].

Richard sails from Cyprus, and arrives at Acon.

While he was engaged in receiving the homage of the nobility of Cyprus, who made him a free gift of great value, he sent away the two queens, and the Cyprian princess (who is said to have made a conquest of her conqueror), with a part of his fleet and army, to join the Christian army at the siege of Ptolemais or Acon; where they landed, June 1st. Having settled all the

[18] R. Hoveden. p. 393. R. de Diceto, col. 657. J. Brompt. col. 1197.

[19] R. Hoveden, p. 193, 194. Benedict. Abbas, p. 645—653. G. Vinisauf. l. 2. c. 35.

affairs

affairs of Cyprus, and appointed Richard de Camville, and Roger de Turnham, governors of that iſland, he ſailed with the reſt of his fleet and army, taking a great Saracen ſhip in his paſſage, and arrived at Acon June 8th, to the great joy of the beſiegers and diſmay of the beſieged [20]. A.D. 1191.

The city of Acon had been inveſted about two years by the Chriſtian army, compoſed of warriors from every nation in Europe, who had performed many glorious actions, and ſuffered many grievous calamities under its walls, which had been bravely defended by a very numerous garriſon; while Saladin, with a powerful army, beſieged the beſiegers, and haraſſed them with continual combats [21]. On the arrival of the Engliſh army with their gallant leader, the ſiege, that had languiſhed for ſome time, was puſhed with the greateſt ardour; the walls were battered night and day with various machines, the artillery of thoſe times; frequent furious aſſaults were given; and the beſieged, deſpairing of relief, agreed to ſurrender the city, July 12th, on the following conditions:—"That the garriſon "ſhould be allowed to march out only in their "ſhirts, leaving all their arms and baggage be-"hind them:—That Saladin ſhould reſtore the "true croſs, with two thouſand five hundred of "his Chriſtian priſoners of the greateſt note:—"That he ſhould pay to the two kings two hun- Siege and ſurrender of Acon.

[20] G. Viniſauf. l. 3. c. 2.

[21] Id. l. 2. c. 25—42.

A.D. 1191. "dred thouſand pieces of gold called *byſantines*, "for his men which they had priſoners:—and, "That the whole garriſon ſhould be detained "as hoſtages till theſe conditions were per-"formed [22]." Thus ended this famous ſiege, after it had engaged the attention of all Europe and Aſia for two years, and had coſt the lives of ſix archbiſhops, twelve biſhops, forty earls, five hundred barons, and three hundred thouſand other men [23].

Tyranny of Longchamp, chief juſticiary of England.

While Richard was making unprofitable conqueſts in the Eaſt, at a great expence of blood and treaſure, his ſubjects in England were ſuffering great inconveniencies from his abſence, and the intolerable inſolence of William Longchamp biſhop of Ely, to whom chiefly he had delegated his authority.—That haughty prelate, who had ariſen from the very dregs of the people, was ſo much tranſported with his unmerited elevation, that he could endure no rival. He impriſoned Hugh de Puſey biſhop of Durham, who had been appointed chief juſticiary beyond the Humber, and obliged him to reſign his caſtles and his commiſſion to obtain his liberty [24]. Poſſeſſed of all authority, civil and eccleſiaſtical, as chancellor, chief juſticiary, and papal legate, he acted in the moſt arbitrary manner, beſtowing all preferments in church and ſtate on his relations and creatures, and uſing the revenues of the

[22] Benedict. Abbas, p. 653—663. Viniſauf. l. 3. c. 17.
[23] Viniſauf. l. 4. c. 6. [24] R. Hoveden, p. 379.

crown

crown as if they had been his own[25]. In his manner of living he exceeded the pomp of kings, never appearing in public without a retinue of fifteen hundred horſemen. Richard, informed of theſe enormities, while he reſided at Meſſina, gave a commiſſion to Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, William earl of Strigul, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briewere, and Hugh Bardolf, to be privy counſellors to the high juſticiary, without whoſe advice he was to tranſact nothing of importance. But ſo terrible was Longchamp now become, that theſe noblemen had not the courage to ſhow him their commiſſion[26]. A.D. 1191.

Longchamp quarrels with prince John, and Geoffrey archbiſhop of York.

The imperious regent had alſo a quarrel with prince John, the king's brother, which was terminated by his agreeing to take an oath, which was alſo taken by all the other prelates and nobles of the kingdom, that if the king ſhould die beyond ſeas without iſſue, all the royal caſtles ſhould be delivered to the prince[27]. But his animoſity againſt Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, and archbiſhop of York, prompted him to ſuch acts of violence againſt the immunities of the church and clergy, as proved fatal to his power and greatneſs. Geoffrey had been at Rome to procure the pope's confirmation of his election to the ſee of York; and on his landing at Dover, September 14th, was ſeized by the

[25] Benedict. Abbas, p. 701.
[26] R. Hoveden, p. 392. col. 1. Dicето, col. 659.
[27] Benedict. Abbas, p. 694.

governor

A.D. 1191. governor of the caſtle; but, making his eſcape, took refuge in St. Martin's church; from whence he was violently dragged by Longchamp's orders, and impriſoned in Dover caſtle[28].

Confederacy againſt Longchamp, by which he is expelled.

This outrageous inſult on an archbiſhop, the ſon and brother of a king, together with the violation of the rights of ſanctuary, excited univerſal indignation againſt the high juſticiary, and gave his enemies a greater advantage than all his former acts of tyranny. Several biſhops excommunicated all who had been concerned in the horrid deed. Prince John and the chief nobility had a meeting at Reading, October 5th, in which the king's commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Rouen, and others, to be co-adjutors to Longchamp, was produced; and he was ſummoned to attend another meeting at Lodbridge, three days after; but, inſtead of complying with that ſummons, he ſhut himſelf up in the tower of London. As this ſtorm was unexpected, he had not laid in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions to ſtand a ſiege; which obliged him to ſubmit, and appear before the prelates and nobility; by whom he was deprived of his two great offices of chancellor and chief juſticiary: and not being able to bear his fall with fortitude, he made his eſcape out of the kingdom, October 29th, in diſguiſe[29]. Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, a prelate of great wiſdom and virtue, acted as chief juſticiary, with the

[28] Anglia Sacra, l. 2. p. 390, 391.

[29] Benedict. Abbas, p. 707. Hoveden, p. 400.

advice

advice of his colleagues, by virtue of the former commiſſion; and the cuſtody of the great ſeal was given to Benedict abbot of Peterborough, the hiſtorian [30]. A.D. 1191.

Soon after the two kings of France and England had taken poſſeſſion of Acon, the former began to intimate his intention of returning into Europe, pretending that the climate of Paleſtine did not agree with his conſtitution, and that his life would be endangered by a longer ſtay. This however was not the real, or at leaſt not the chief, reaſon of his forming this reſolution—Many diſputes had ariſen between the two monarchs at Meſſina and in the Holy Land, which made their union neither cordial nor agreeable—He beheld his own glory eclipſed by the ſuperior ſplendour of Richard's atchievements, which gave him great diſguſt—The earl of Flanders had died before Acon without iſſue, and he expected, by his preſence in France, to ſecure a part, if not the whole, of his ſucceſſion,—to ſay nothing of his intention to ſeize ſome of Richard's dominions in his abſence. Great efforts were made to perſuade him to ſtay longer; but they were ineffectual. Having renewed his engagements not to invade any of the territories of the king of England, while that prince continued in the Holy Land, or within forty days after his return home; and having left a conſiderable body of his troops under the com- The king of France returns from the Holy Land.

30 W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 18. Benedict. Abbas, p. 714. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 58.

mand

A.D.1191. mand of the duke of Burgundy, he failed from the port of Acon, with the reſt of his fleet and army, Auguſt 1ſt, and landed in France a few days before the feſtival of Chriſtmas, which he ſolemnized at his palace of Fountainbleau [31].

Operations of the war in the Holy Land.

Richard, after the departure of the king of France, having repaired the walls of Acon, marched from thence, Auguſt 25th, with the Chriſtian army, to reduce the other cities on the ſea-coaſt. The famous Saladin, at the head of a very numerous army, attended all their motions, and haraſſed them with perpetual combats, in which aſtoniſhing acts of valour were performed on both ſides [32]. At length theſe two great armies, animated by the moſt implacable hatred, inflamed by religious zeal, and conducted by the two braveſt leaders in the world, came to a general action, September 6th, which continued from morning to night; when the Turkiſh army was put to flight with great ſlaughter [33]. Saladin, after this defeat, deſpairing to be able to keep the field, and to defend ſo great a number of towns, diſmantled Cæſarea, Aſcalon, Joppa, and ſeveral others, and with their garriſons reinforced his army, and ſtrengthened the garriſons of Jeruſalem, and of the other towns he reſolved to defend [34]. After this victory the Chriſtian army proceeded on their march with little mo-

[31] Benedict. Abbas, p. 667—670. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 22. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 57.

[32] G. Vinſauf. l. 4. c. 10—16.

[33] Id. ibid. c. 18—22.

[34] Id. ibid. c. 23.

leſtation;

leſtation; and reaching Joppa, found it deſerted, and almoſt quite demoliſhed; and received intelligence that the enemy were acting the ſame part at Aſcalon. A council of war was held, in which king Richard propoſed to march to Aſcalon with all poſſible expedition, and reſcue it out of the hands of the Turks before it was demoliſhed; but the duke of Burgundy, and the other French generals (who had been ſecretly inſtructed by their ſovereign to thwart the king of England in all his deſigns), obſtinately inſiſted on rebuilding Joppa; to which Richard reluctantly conſented, and ſeven weeks were ſpent in that work [35]. In the beginning of November the Chriſtian army marched from Joppa towards Jeruſalem, rebuilding the ruined caſtles as they advanced, and being alſo much retarded in their progreſs by heavy rains and frequent aſſaults of the enemy. But when they had overcome all theſe difficulties, and had reached the neighbourhood of the holy city, in the laſt week of this year, the Templars, Hoſpitallers, and Piſans, joining with the French, oppoſed the beſieging of it, at that time, with many ſpecious arguments; and obliged Richard to return with his army towards Aſcalon, to his own unſpeakable mortification, and the great grief of many of the croiſaders [36]. A.D. 1191.

The king of France, in his paſſage from the Holy Land, had viſited Rome, and made bitter A.D. 1192. Conduct of the king of France.

35 G. Viniſauf. l. 4. c. 27—30.

36 Id. l. 5. c. 1, 2.

A.D. 1192. after his return from the Holy Land, and his intrigues with prince John.

complaints to the pope of many affronts and injuries which he pretended to have received from the king of England; earneſtly intreating his holineſs to releaſe him from his oaths, that he might take vengeance on his enemy, by invading his dominions. But with this moſt ſhameful requeſt the pope would not comply[37]. Not diſcouraged with this repulſe, on his arrival in France, he made no ſecret of his reſolution to violate all his oaths, in order to gratify his revenge, or rather his ambition. In a conference with the ſeneſchal of Normandy, January 20th, he made a demand of Giſors, and its territories, threatening immediate war on receiving a refuſal[38]. He engaged in dark intrigues with prince John, to whoſe profligate character he was no ſtranger, tempting him with an offer of all Richard's dominions on the continent, to join with him in the war againſt his abſent brother; to which he would have conſented, if he had not been diſſuaded by his mother queen Eleanor, and deterred by the threats of the juſticiaries of England to confiſcate his eſtates. Though diſappointed in theſe intrigues, Philip would have invaded Normandy, if he had not been prevented by his barons, who abſolutely refuſed to follow him in ſo unjuſt an enterprize[39].

Attempts of Longchamp to

The government of England was alſo much diſquieted at this time, by the violent efforts of

37 Benedict. Abbas, p. 720.
38 Id. 27, 28.
39 Id. p. 728.

William

William Longchamp, the expelled juſticiary; A.D. 1192. who having gained the pope to eſpouſe his cauſe, and renew his legantine commiſſion, threatened to lay the kingdom under an interdict, if he was not reſtored to all his former power. But by the prudence and firmneſs of the archbiſhop of Rouen, aſſiſted by queen Eleanor, all his efforts were baffled [40]. recover his power defeated.

While Richard's dominions in Europe were torn by factions and threatened with invaſions, that prince was involved in the greateſt difficulties and dangers in the Holy Land. No march was ever attended with more afflictive circumſtances than that of the Chriſtian army, in the beginning of this year, from Jeruſalem to Aſcalon, where they arrived, January 20th, much diminiſhed and diſpirited by ſtorms, fatigue, and famine [41]. To complete their misfortunes, they found that place ſo completely ruined and deſerted, that it afforded them neither food, lodging, nor protection. The reparation of it coſt them three months inceſſant toil; from which the king himſelf was not exempted, who wrought with greater ardour than any common labourer [42]. Before this work was completed, the duke of Burgundy, with the French, Genoeſe, and all whom he could entice to follow him, ſeparated from the army, and marched, firſt to Acon, and afterwards to Tyre [43]. Proceedings of the Chriſtian army in the Holy Land.

40 Benedict. Abbas. p. 731.
41 G. Viniſauf. l. 5. c. 3.
42 Id. ibid. c. 6.
43 Id. ibid. c. 10.

About

A.D. 1192.

King Richard prepares for his return to England. His generous behaviour.

About the middle of April, the prior of Hereford arrived at Aſcalon, with letters to the king from William Longchamp, acquainting him with the troubles in England, with his own expulſion, and with the machinations of prince John, and earneſtly intreating him to return immediately, if he deſired to preſerve his crown [44]. Aſtoniſhed at this intelligence, Richard called a council of all the princes and nobles in the Chriſtian army, and communicated to them the news he had received, and the neceſſity of his return to England; to which they conſented, on condition that he terminated the diſpute between the two pretenders to the crown of Jeruſalem, Guy de Louzignan and Conrade marquis of Montferrat, that they might know whom to follow, after his departure. On this occaſion, Richard acted a very noble part, leaving the deciſion of that queſtion to the members of the council; and when they declared in favour of Conrade, who had long been his open enemy, he confirmed their choice, and ſacrificed his private reſentment to the public peace [45]. Still further to ſecure the tranquillity of the army and the country in his abſence, he generouſly beſtowed the kingdom of Cyprus on Guy de Louzignan, the other competitor for the crown of Jeruſalem; a valuable gift, which he and his poſterity enjoyed almoſt three centuries.

[44] G. Vinisauf. l. 5. c. 22.

[45] Id. ibid. c. 23, 24.

Conrade

Conrade was tranſported with joy when he received the news of his election, and haſtened to Aſcalon to be crowned. But he was unhappily murdered, April 28th, on the ſtreets of Tyre, by two deſperadoes, who had been ſent for that purpoſe, by the prince of the Aſſaſſins; or, as he was commonly called, *The Old Man of the Mountain*[46]. The murderers were both apprehended; and were ſo far from denying, that they gloried in what they had done, declaring, that it was in obedience to the commands of their lord, the Old Man of the Mountain, to revenge an injury he had received from Conrade. Yet ſo malevolent and ſhameleſs was the king of France, that he calumniated Richard as the author of that aſſaſſination, and pretended to dread a like attempt upon his own perſon[47].

A D 1192. Conrade king of Jeruſalem killed, of which Richard is unjuſtly accuſed.

On the death of Conrade, Henry earl of Champaigne married his widow, and was declared king of Jeruſalem; who, being nephew to Richard, brought back the French and their confederates to join the Chriſtian army at Aſcalon, under that prince; who had lately taken the ſtrong fortreſs of Darum from the Turks[48]. The Chriſtian army being aſſembled, a reſolution was taken to make another attempt on the city of Jeruſalem; and they began their march from Aſcalon, June 6th, and in five days reached Belinople (within

Further proceedings of the Chriſtian army in the Holy Land.

46 G. Viniſauf. c. 26.
47 Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 71. W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 24, 25.
48 G. Viniſauf. l. 5. c. 39.

A.D. 1192. about four miles of that city), where they encamped a month waiting for the troops they expected to join them from Acon. In this interval king Richard ſurpriſed and took a Turkiſh caravan, with immenſe wealth in gold, ſilver, ſilk, ſpices, ſugars, and other precious commodities [49]. When all the forces were collected, a council of war was held, in which, after long deliberation, and many angry diſputes, it was concluded not to attempt the ſiege of Jeruſalem at that time; and the French with their confederates again ſeparating from the army, Richard conducted his own troops, and all who choſe to follow him, to Acon, where they arrived July 26th [50]. From thence he propoſed to embark for England; but before all things were ready, he received the melancholy news that Saladin had inveſted Joppa with a prodigious army, and that the garriſon muſt fall a ſacrifice if he did not come to their relief. Deeply affected with their diſtreſs, he gave orders to the army to march to Joppa by land, while he, with a choſen body of knights, went by ſea; and by performing prodigies of valour, raiſed the ſiege of Joppa, and defeated the enemy in two actions [51]. But Richard ſoon after falling ſick, and finding it impoſſible to perſuade the French to return to the army, concluded a truce with Saladin for three years, three months, three weeks, three

[49] G. Viniſauf. l. 6. c. 4.
[50] Id. ibid. c. 8, 9, 10, 11.
[51] Id. ibid. c. 22, 23.

days;

days, and three hours; conſenting to the demolition of Aſcalon; but ſtipulating, that the Chriſtians ſhould retain all the other towns they poſſeſſed in Paleſtine, and be permitted to viſit the holy places at Jeruſalem [52]. A.D.1192.

King Richard embarks for England, is ſhipwrecked, and taken priſoner.

Richard recovered ſlowly from his indiſpoſition; and having ſent away the queens of England and Sicily, with their attendants, he went, with a ſmall number of ſelect friends, on board a ſwift-ſailing ſhip in the port of Acon, October 9th, followed by the tears, prayers, and benedictions of an infinite multitude of people, who had taſted his bounty and beheld his valour [53]. His voyage was moſt unfortunate; for after toſſing ſeveral weeks at ſea, he was ſhipwrecked near Aquileia; and attempting to paſs through Germany in diſguiſe, he was diſcovered in a village near Vienna, December 20th, and thrown into priſon by Leopold duke of Auſtria; who, prompted by avarice or malice, reſpected neither his rank, nor the cauſe in which he had been engaged [54].

A.D.1193. Richard delivered to the emperor.

As ſoon as the emperor Henry VI. heard of the detention of the king of England, to whom he was an enemy, he claimed and obtained the royal captive, promiſing to pay Leopold ſixty thouſand pounds out of the expected ranſom [55].

52 G. Viniſauf. c. 27. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 61.

53 Viniſauf. l. 6. c. 37.

54 W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 31. Hoveden, p. 409. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 62. M. Paris, p. 121.

55 W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 33. M. Paris, p. 121.

A.D. 1193. In this ignominious manner was this illuſtrious prince, and great champion of Chriſtianity, bought and ſold, by thoſe who could hardly invent a pretence for offering him any violence.

Conſpiracy of the king of France and prince John defeated.

The king of France, tranſported with joy at the news of Richard's captivity, and forgetting all his oaths, haſtened to make the utmoſt advantage of it, by invading his dominions,—by inviting prince John to join with him in ſharing the plunder of his unhappy brother,—and by negotiating with the emperor to deliver up his royal priſoner to him, or to detain him in perpetual durance[56]. His negotiations with the emperor were unſucceſsful. But prince John, regardleſs of all the ties of nature, of gratitude, and of the moſt ſolemn oaths, entered with eagerneſs into all the ſchemes of Philip, for the deſtruction of his brother and the diviſion of his ſpoils. On his return from Normandy, where he had an interview with the king of France to ſettle their plan of operations, he beſieged and took the caſtles of Wallingford and Windſor[57]. Coming to London, he gave out that his brother was dead, and required Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, chief juſticiary, and his colleagues, to ſwear fealty to him, and perform the ceremony of his coronation. But his aſſertions being diſcredited, and his requiſitions deſpiſed, the juſticiaries raiſed an army, and proſecuted the war

56 W. Neubrigen. l. 4 c. 34. Hoveden, p. 412.
57 Hoveden, p. 412. Rymer Fœd. l. 1. p. 85.

againſt

againſt him with ſo much vigour, that they compelled him to beg a truce; which was granted, and he returned to his ally the king of France [58]. That prince had been more ſucceſsful in his invaſion of Normandy, where he met with little oppoſition till he inveſted Rouen; which was ſo bravely defended by the valiant earl of Leiceſter, who had lately returned from the Holy Land, that Philip was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with precipitation. This repulſe, together with the threats of the pope to lay his dominions under an interdict, engaged him to liſten to propoſals for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and a truce was concluded July 9th [59]. A.D. 1193.

King Richard loſt none of his uſual courage, or even cheerfulneſs, by his captivity. Though he was at firſt treated with great indignity, thrown into a dungeon from whence no man had ever eſcaped with life, loaded with irons, and ſurrounded day and night with armed men, his countenance was ſerene, and his converſation pleaſant and facetious [60]. Richard's undaunted deportment in his captivity.

As ſoon as queen Eleanor and the juſticiaries of England heard of his misfortune, they ſent the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert to attend him; who, meeting him with his guards on the road to Worms, where a diet of the empire was ſoon to be held, were received by him in a manner equally cheerful and affectionate. He aſked Negotiations for his deliverance.

[58] Chron. Gervaſ. col. 1581. R. Hoveden, p. 413. col. 2. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 64.

[59] Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 81.

[60] M. Paris, p. 121.

A.D.1193. them the ſtate of his friends, his ſubjects, and his dominions; and particularly inquired after the health of the king of Scotland, on whoſe honour he ſaid he entirely relied. On hearing of the baſe behaviour of his brother John, he was ſhocked, and looked grave; but preſently recovering his good humour, he ſaid with a ſmile, *My brother John is not made for conquering kingdoms* [61]. Many of the king's perſonal friends, as William biſhop of Ely, Hubert biſhop of Saliſbury, &c. on hearing of his diſaſter, flew to his relief, and aſſiſted in negotiating his deliverance. Queen Eleanor addreſſed ſeveral moſt mournful and pathetic letters to the pope, intreating and conjuring him to launch the thunders of the church againſt thoſe impious princes who detained her heroic ſon, and who ravaged his dominions [62].

Richard's noble behaviour before the diet of the empire.

The emperor, to wipe off ſome part of the odium he had brought upon himſelf by his conduct towards Richard, preſented him before all the prelates and princes of the empire, in a diet held at Worms July 13th; and accuſed him,—of having protected Tancred, who had uſurped the crown of Sicily,—of having made war on the emperor of Cyprus, a Chriſtian prince, when he ſhould have been fighting againſt the infidels,—of having driven the king of France out of the Holy Land by many injuries,—of having affronted the duke of Auſtria,—of having hired

[61] R. Hoveden, p. 411. col. 2. [62] Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 72—78.

aſſaſſins

assassins to murder the marquis of Montferrat,— and of having concluded a truce with Saladin on too easy terms. But Richard being permitted to speak for himself, answered all these accusations in so clear and full, and at the same time in so elegant and affecting a manner, that he not only convinced the whole assembly of his innocence, but drew tears from many of his noble hearers [63]. A.D. 1193.

After this the emperor treated him with greater decency; and by the mediation of several princes, the negotiation for his freedom was concluded, July 31st, on the following terms:— that as soon as the king of England had delivered to the emperor one hundred thousand marks, Cologne weight, of pure silver, and had given hostages for other fifty thousand marks of the same weight and fineness, he should be set at liberty, and have a safe conduct to the port where he was to embark [64]. As soon as the king of France heard of the conclusion of this agreement, he sent a message to his confederate prince John, to take care of himself, for *the devil was unchained* [65]. The justiciaries of England raised the money for the king's ransom in a short time, by a scutage of twenty shillings on every knight's fee, a talliage on the boroughs and the royal demesnes, and by several other methods [66]. The money being collected, queen

Treaty for his deliverance concluded, and money for his ransom collected.

63 M. Paris, p. 121, 122.
64 Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 84.
65 R. Hoveden, p. 415. col. 1.
66 Id. p. 417, col. 1.

A.D.1193. Eleanor, and the archbiſhop of Rouen, ſet out with it for Germany, a little before Chriſtmas, leaving the chief direction of affairs in England in the hands of Hubert formerly biſhop of Saliſbury, lately conſtituted archbiſhop of Canterbury and chief juſticiary.

A.D.1194. Efforts of the king of France and prince John to prevent his deliverance.

The terrors of the king of France, and of his friend prince John, redoubled as the time of Richard's releaſe drew near, which engaged them to make a great effort to prevent what they ſo much dreaded. With this view they ſent letters to the emperor, engaging to pay him one hundred and fifty thouſand marks of pure ſilver, if he would detain Richard only one year longer [67]. With this magnificent offer the emperor, the moſt ſordid and moſt mercenary of men, was not a little ſtaggered, and began to make excuſes and delays; but many of the princes of the empire, who had been guarantees of the agreement between him and Richard, inſiſting that it ſhould be fulfilled, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of giving that prince his liberty, on February 4th, at Mentz, to the great joy of his mother queen Eleanor, and ſeveral of his nobles who were preſent to receive him [68].

King Richard arrives in England, and takes the caſtle of Nottingham.

Having ſpent ſome days with his great friend the biſhop of Cologne, he proceeded on his journey towards the port of Swine, at the mouth of the Scheld, where he embarked on board an Engliſh fleet, and landed at Sandwich, March

[67] R. Hoveden, p. 418.

[68] Id. ibid.

20th, after an abſence of four years, three months, and nine days, in which he had experienced great variety of fortunes[69]. He was received at London with great demonſtrations of joy, and ſuch an oſtentatious diſplay of wealth, as aſtoniſhed the German nobility in his train, and made one of them ſay, "If our emperor "had known the riches of England, your ranſom, "O king, would have been much greater[70]." Having ſpent only three days at London, he haſtened to put himſelf at the head of his army, beſieging the caſtle of Nottingham, belonging to prince John; which ſurrendered at diſcretion, March 28th[71]. A.D. 1194.

Here the king held a great council of his prelates and nobility, which began March 30th, and ended April 2d. On the ſecond day of the council it was decreed, that if prince John did not appear before the king and his court within forty days, to anſwer for his conduct, all his eſtates in England ſhould be forfeited[72]. On the third day a tax of two ſhillings on every hide of land was granted; and on the laſt ſeveral criminal proceſſes were determined[73]. Great council at Nottingham.

At this council it was reſolved, that the ceremony of the king's coronation ſhould be repeated, to wipe off the ſtain of his captivity; and the 17th of April was appointed for the day of the ſolemnity, at Wincheſter; where it was accordingly Richard crowned at Wincheſter, and refuſes to admit the claim of the king

69 W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 41. 70 Hemingford, l. 2. c. 69.
71 R. Hoveden, p. 419. 72 Id. ibid. 73 Id. ibid.

A.D.1194. of Scotland to the northern counties.

ingly performed with great pomp[74]. William the Lion, king of Scotland, was present at the council of Nottingham, attended the king from thence to Winchester, and assisted at his coronation, earnestly soliciting a grant of the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland; which was refused, but in the softest terms[75].

Richard collects money, and raises an army, with which he sails to the continent.

After his second coronation, Richard resumed many of the honours and estates which he had alienated before his departure for the Holy Land, alleging that they were absolutely necessary for the support of the crown, and that the purchasers of them had already indemnified themselves[76]. He prevailed upon the monks of the Cistertian order, by flattery and fair promises, to make him a present of a year's wool, and by various other arts replenished his empty coffers[77]. Receiving intelligence of the hostile intentions and preparations of the king of France, he collected his forces with all possible expedition, and embarking them at Portsmouth, on board a fleet of one hundred sail, he landed with them at Barfleur May 12th[78].

Richard pardons prince John.

Next morning his brother prince John suddenly entered his apartment, threw himself at his feet, and with many tears confessed his crimes, and implored forgiveness; with which Richard was so much affected, that he raised him from

74 W. Neubrigen. l. 4. c. 42.
75 R. Hoveden, p. 420.
76 W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 1.
77 Id. ibid.
78 R. Hoveden, p. 421.

the

the ground, embraced him in the moſt affectionate manner, and granted him a pardon; but did not immediately reſtore him to his poſſeſſions [79]. A.D. 1194.

Taking the field with his army, he raiſed the ſiege of Verneuil May 29th, took the caſtle of Lochis June 13th, and gained a ſtill greater advantage over his enemies July 5th, at Fretteval, where all the baggage and treaſure of the king of France, together with his chancery, containing many valuable papers, fell into his hands [80]. From thence Richard marched his army into Guienne, which had revolted, and in the ſpace of ſixteen days reduced it to its former ſtate of obedience and ſubjection [81]. But a ſtop was put to theſe military operations by a truce, which was concluded for one year by the plenipotentiaries of the kings of France and England, July 23d [82]. Operations of the war with France ſuſpended by a truce.

Richard employed this interval of tranquillity in making a very ſtrict inquiry into the ſtate of all the branches of the royal revenues. For this purpoſe he ſent commiſſioners into every county of the kingdom, to make the neceſſary enquiries, and to levy the ſums that ſhould be found due to the crown on any account [83]. One object of this enquiry was, to raiſe the money that was ſtill due to the duke of Auſtria for the king's ranſom, Richard's employment during the truce.

79 M. Paris, p. 123. col. 2. Diceto, col. 673.
80 R. Hoveden, p. 421. W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 2.
81 Id. ibid. c. 3. R. Hoveden, p. 422.
82 Id. ibid.
83 Id, p. 423, 424.

that

A.D.1194. that his hoſtages might be redeemed; but he was unexpectedly relieved from the neceſſity of paying that money by the following event.

Duke of Auſtria ſets Richard's hoſtages at liberty.

As the duke of Auſtria was tilting with his courtiers on St. Stephen's day, December 26th, his horſe fell upon him, and cruſhed his foot in ſuch a manner, that it threw him into a fever, and brought on a gangrene. When his phyſicians acquainted him that there were no hopes of his recovery, he was ſeized with remorſe for the cruelty and injuſtice of which he had been guilty towards the king of England; and gave orders to ſet his hoſtages at liberty [84].

A.D.1195. War with France renewed, and terminated by a peace.

The late truce between the kings of France and England was not very well obſerved; and as ſoon as it expired, the war was renewed by Philip, who made an incurſion into Normandy, plundering the country, and demoliſhing ſuch caſtles as fell into his hands. Richard having collected his forces, marched to meet his enemies, and came up with them near Vaudreuil, where a negotiation was propoſed by Philip, who during the continuance of it, ſecretly employed his troops in undermining the walls of that fortreſs. One day as the two kings were engaged in a conference, they were interrupted by a dreadful noiſe, occaſioned by the fall of the greateſt part of the caſtle of Vaudreuil, which at once diſcovered to Richard the artifice of his adverſary, and inflamed him with the moſt violent reſent-

[84] W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 8.

ment.

ment. He haſtened to put himſelf at the head of his army, and to prepare for taking his revenge in a general engagement; but the French, who had all things in readineſs for their march, retired with ſo much precipitation, that he could not overtake them [85]. The war was proſecuted for ſome months after this with various ſucceſs, but without producing any general action or important event; and was at length terminated by a treaty of peace concluded by the two monarchs in a perſonal interview on December 5th [86]. A.D. 1195.

While Richard was detained in his foreign dominions, the capital of England became a ſcene of the moſt violent factions, and of great confuſion. This was owing to the unlimited influence which one William Fitz-Oſbert, commonly called *Longbeard*, had obtained among the common people and inferior citizens of that metropolis; by declaiming, with great vehemence, on all occaſions, againſt the tyranny of the king's miniſters, and their oppreſſions of the poor. Though William was known to be a man of an abandoned character and ruined fortunes, yet by his learning, eloquence, and fair pretences, he gained ſuch an aſcendant over the minds of his followers, that they called him *the ſaviour of the people*, attended him with loud acclamations whenever he appeared in public, A.D. 1196. Tumults in London ſuppreſſed, and the author Longbeard executed.

[85] W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 15. Chron. J. Brompt. col. 1267.
[86] W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 17. Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 91.

and

A.D.1196. and bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths to execute all his orders. The ſtreets were infeſted day and night by numerous mobs, who committed many diſorders, inſulted the richer citizens, and threatened them with deſtruction. Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury, and chief juſticiary, ſummoned Longbeard to appear before the council; but he came, attended by ſuch a prodigious multitude, that they were afraid to aſk him any queſtions, and he returned in triumph into the city. After this the archbiſhop very prudently remained quiet, until the political enthuſiaſm of Longbeard's followers began to languiſh for want of oppoſition, when he ſent a party of men into the city to ſeize his perſon. William made a brave defence, killed one of the party ſent to apprehend him, and eſcaped, with his concubine, and a few of his accomplices, into the neighbouring church of St. Mary le Bow. But no regard was paid to the rights of ſanctuary on this occaſion. William was dragged out of the church, tried, condemned, and executed, before his partiſans recovered from their ſurpriſe, or had time to form any ſcheme for his deliverance. After his death, however, they flocked in great crowds to the place of execution, took down the gallows on which he had been hanged, divided it into a thouſand pieces, preſerved and adored theſe pieces as the moſt precious relics, pretending that they wrought many miracles. But as theſe pretended miracles were not countenanced by the

clergy, to whom William had been no friend, they were ſoon forgotten [87]. A.D.1196.

The animoſity between the kings of France and England was ſo violent, that it could not be reſtrained within the bounds of peace by the moſt ſolemn treaties. Some diſputes having ariſen in Britanny about the guardianſhip of the young duke of that country, who was now about nine years of age; Richard ſent an army to ſupport his title to that office; which was diſputed by many of the nobility, who put themſelves, their ſovereign, and their country, under the protection of the king of France. Philip warmly eſpouſed their cauſe, and another war broke out between him and Richard, which continued from Midſummer A. D. 1196, to September 17th, this year, when it was terminated by a truce, without having produced any events worthy of a place in hiſtory [88]. A.D.1197. War with France begun and ended.

While Richard found it neceſſary to continue on the continent to defend his dominions againſt his moſt inveterate enemy the king of France, England was governed with great wiſdom, and preſerved in perfect tranquillity, by Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury, who being both papal legate and chief juſticiary, had great influence in all affairs civil and eccleſiaſtical [89]. But though this kingdom enjoyed the bleſſing of peace, it A.D.1198. Famine and plague in England.

87 W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 20, 21. Chron. Gervaſii, col. 1591.
88 Chron. Brompt. col. 1272, &c. W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 32.
89 Gervas Acta Pontific. Cantuarienſ. col. 1679, &c.

was

A.D.1198. was grievouſly afflicted with famine, occaſioned by a ſucceſſion of cold and rainy ſeaſons; and this famine at length brought on a plague, that raged with ſo much violence for ſix months, that there were hardly ſo many perſons in perfect health as were ſufficient to attend the ſick and bury the dead, who were thrown into great pits as ſoon as they expired [90]. A contemporary writer, who gives a very affecting account of this peſtilence, obſerves, that the monaſteries were the only places exempted from its ravages [91]: a ſufficient proof that the monks of thoſe times enjoyed much better accommodations, and greater abundance of all things, than the reſt of their countrymen.

A.D.1199. King Richard receives a wound, of which he dies.

A truce for five years had lately been concluded between the kings of France and England, under the mediation of the pope; and a negotiation was ſet on foot in the beginning of this year, under the ſame mediation, for eſtabliſhing a laſting peace between theſe monarchs, that they might be at liberty to undertake a ſecond expedition into the Holy Land, when an event happened that put an end to all theſe projects. A conſiderable treaſure, conſiſting of ancient coins and medals, had been accidentally found in the lands of Vidomar viſcount of Limoges, and was demanded from that nobleman by king Richard, who claimed a right to it as ſovereign of the country. Vidomar conſented to give up a part

[90] Chron. Brompt. col. 1271. [91] W. Neubrigen. l. 5. c. 26.

of

of the treaſure; which Richard rejecting, marched A.D. 1199.
at the head of a body of Brabançons, and inveſted the caſtle of Chalus near Limoges, where the treaſure was ſuppoſed to be concealed, with a deſign to ſeize the whole, and to puniſh his refractory vaſſal. The garriſon offered to ſurrender the caſtle, and all things in it, on condition that they ſhould be allowed to march out with their arms. But Richard wantonly rejected this offer, declaring that he was determined to take the caſtle by force, and to put them all to death. On the fourth day of the ſiege (March 28th), as the king, and Marcadee, commander of the Brabançons, were viewing the caſtle, in order to diſcover the moſt proper place for making an aſſault, Richard was wounded in the left ſhoulder with an arrow, diſcharged from a croſs-bow by Bertrame de Gourdon, one of the garriſon. After remaining ſome time in the ſame place, he mounted his horſe, returned to his head-quarters, and gave directions for the aſſault. The caſtle was taken, and all its defenders, according to orders, were hanged, except Bertrame de Gourdon, who was probably reſerved for ſome more cruel death. In pulling the arrow from the king's ſhoulder the iron remained behind, which obliged the ſurgeon, who ſeems not to have been expert in his profeſſion, to make ſeveral deep inciſions, in order to extract it. After ſome days the ſymptoms of a gangrene appeared; and a wound which at firſt was not thought dangerous, was now eſteemed mortal.

A.D.1199. As ſoon as he became apprehenſive of death, he commanded Gourdon to be brought into his preſence, and aſked him, "What harm have I done "to you that hath provoked you to attempt my "death?"—"You have killed," replied Gourdon, "both my father and brother with your own "hand, and deſigned to put me to an ignomi-"nious death. I am therefore ready to ſuffer "the greateſt torments you can invent, with "joy, ſince I have been ſo happy as to kill one "who hath been the author of ſo many miſeries "to mankind[92]." The king, conſcious of the truth of this bold reply, bore it with patience; and commanded Gourdon to be ſet at liberty. But this command was not obeyed. For Marcadee kept him in priſon, and as ſoon as the king expired, put him to a painful death[93]. Though Richard, at his departure for the Holy Land, had declared his nephew Arthur duke of Britanny his heir, he made a different diſpoſition on his death-bed, by bequeathing all his dominions, and three-fourths of his treaſure, to his brother prince John[94]. No reaſons are given for this important change by contemporary hiſtorians; and our conjectures concerning the motives to it can be but uncertain. Having expreſſed great penitence for his vices, and undergone a very ſevere diſcipline from the hands of the clergy who attended him in his laſt moments,

[92] Hoveden, p. 450. col. 1. [93] Id. ibid.
[94] Rymer Fœdera, t. 1. p. 66. 68. Hoveden, p. 450.

he

he died on the tenth day after he was wounded, A.D. 1199
April 6th, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and the tenth of his reign [95].

Thus fell Richard I. in the prime of life, when engaged in an enterprize unworthy of his power, and not very honourable to his character. Character of king Richard.
In his perſon he is deſcribed by one who was intimately acquainted with him, to have been tall, ſtrong, and handſome; his countenance fair and comely; his eyes blue and ſparkling; his hair yellow; and his air ſtately and majeſtic [96]. The natural endowments of his mind were not inferior to the perfections of his body. His underſtanding was excellent, his memory retentive, his imagination lively, and his courage ſo undaunted, that it procured him the ſurname of *Cœur de Lion*, or *the Lion-hearted* [97]. In conſequence of theſe endowments, he is celebrated by contemporary writers, as a wiſe politician, an eloquent orator, an admired poet, and the moſt illuſtrious warrior of the age in which he flouriſhed. One of theſe writers, who attended him in his expedition into the Holy Land, compares him to Ulyſſes for policy; to Neſtor for eloquence; to Hector, Achilles, Alexander, and Rolland, for military talents [98]. In his converſation he was pleaſant and facetious; and his

[95] Chron. Brompt. col. 1279. [96] Gaufred. Viniſauf. l. 2. c. 5.
[97] Chron. Brompt. col. 1278. Girald. Cambrenſ. Topograph. Hibern. Diſtinct. 3. c. 50.
[98] Gaufred. Viniſauf. l. 2. c. 5.

A.D. 1199. pleaſantry did not forſake him even at the approach of death. When the archbiſhop of Rouen told him, in his laſt illneſs, that it was now high time to part with his three favourite daughters, his pride, avarice, and luxury; I am reſolved, replied he, to diſpoſe of them in marriage without delay; the firſt to the templars, the ſecond to the monks, and the third to the prelates, becauſe I know they love them dearly, and will treat them kindly [99]. This prince was not ſo eminent for his virtues as for his accompliſhments. On the contrary, though on ſome occaſions he acted in a noble manner, eſpecially to his proſtrate enemies, he was in general haughty, cruel, covetous, paſſionate, and ſenſual, an undutiful ſon, an unfaithful huſband, and a moſt pernicious king, having, by his long abſence and continual wars, drained his Engliſh dominions both of men and money.

King John's acceſſion and coronation.

John earl of Mortain, youngeſt ſon of Henry II. ſucceeded his brother Richard in the throne of England, as well as in his foreign dominions, to the excluſion of Arthur duke of Britanny, the only ſon of Geoffrey his elder brother [100]. The regular courſe of ſucceſſion to the crown of this kingdom, in the repreſentative of the eldeſt branch of the royal family, was, in this period, ſo imperfectly eſtabliſhed, and had been ſo often violated, that this deviation from it occaſioned little or no diſturbance. John

99 Chron. Brompt. col. 1279.

100 Hoveden, p. 451. col. 1.

being

being in Normandy at the time of his brother's death, immediately flew to Chinon, where his treaſures were depoſited, and had them delivered to him, by Robert de Turnham, to whoſe cuſtody they had been committed; after which he diſpatched Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Mareſchal earl of Strigul, into England, to ſecure the ſucceſſion and preſerve the peace of that kingdom [101]. The influence of theſe commiſſioners was ſo great, that, with the aſſiſtance of Jeffrey Fitz-Peers, the chief juſticiary, they prevailed upon the body of the clergy, nobility, and people of all ranks, to ſwear fealty to John; and having had a meeting at Northampton, with a few of the barons, who diſcovered ſome reluctance, they perſuaded them alſo, by many fair promiſes, to take the ſame oath [102]. John's ſucceſſion met with greater oppoſition on the continent, many of the barons of Anjou and Maine having declared in favour of Arthur duke of Britanny. This young prince, who was now about twelve years of age, was, by his mother Conſtantia, put into the hands of the king of France, to whom he did homage for all the dominions of his family on the continent, which engaged Philip to eſpouſe his cauſe [103]. This did not prevent John's being acknowledged and ſolemnly inaugurated duke of Normandy at Rouen, April 25th, by the archbiſhop of that A.D. 1199.

101 Hoveden, p. 451. col. 1.
102 Id. ibid.
103 M. Paris, col. 138.

A.D. 1199. city; after which he prepared for his paſſage into England; where he arrived, May 25th, and was crowned at Weſtminſter, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, on the 27th of that month [104]. On the very day of this ſolemnity, John ſhewed his gratitude to the three perſons who had contributed moſt to his peaceable acceſſion, by appointing the archbiſhop chancellor of England, and creating William Mareſchal earl of Pembroke, and Jeffrey Fitz-Peers earl of Eſſex [105].

War with France. John perceiving that a profound tranquillity prevailed in England, embarked for Normandy, and landed at Dieppe, June 18th, and ſoon after concluded a truce with the king of France, till Auguſt 16th, when the two monarchs were to have a perſonal interview, in order to adjuſt all their differences. At this interview, which was held near Gaillon, Philip behaved with ſo much haughtineſs, and his demands both for himſelf and for prince Arthur appeared to John ſo exorbitant, that he rejected them [106]. On this the war was renewed; and Philip having made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in Le Maine, in the months of September and October, demoliſhed ſome, and retained others of them in his own poſſeſſion.

Prince Arthur delivered to This circumſtance raiſed ſtrong ſuſpicions of his ſelfiſh views in the mind of William de

[104] M. Paris, col. 138. Hoveden, p. 451.
[105] Id. ibid. [106] M. Paris, p. 138. Hoveden, p. 452.

Roches,

Roches, the general of prince Arthur's forces; who, by a ſtratagem, conveyed that young prince from Paris to Le Mans, of which he was governor. Here he concluded a treaty with king John, into whoſe hands he put prince Arthur, and his mother Conſtantia, expecting greater favour to them from ſo near a relation, than from the king of France. But he ſoon had reaſon to repent of this tranſaction. For on the very next day he received intelligence, that the cruel uncle had formed deſigns againſt the life of his unhappy nephew; from which danger he was reſcued by that faithful ſervant, who eſcaped with the prince and his mother from Le Mans to Angers [107]. A.D. 1199. John, and afterwards reſcued from him.

In the beginning of this year a peace was concluded between the kings of France and England, under the mediation of the cardinal of Capua, the pope's legate, and cemented by a contract of marriage between prince Louis, Philip's eldeſt ſon, and Blanche of Caſtile, king John's niece [108]. Being now at liberty, John paſſed over into England, to collect the ſum of twenty thouſand marks, which by an article of the peace he was to pay to the king of France, and to have an interview with the king of Scotland, who was become very importunate in his demands of the northern counties. He ſucceeded in the firſt of theſe deſigns; but failed in the ſecond, the king of A.D. 1200 Peace with France, and return to England.

[107] Hoveden, p. 452.

[108] Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 117, 118. Annal. Burton. p. 260.

A.D.1200. Scotland declining the interview in diſcontent; on which John returned into Normandy [109].

John's marriage. In a progreſs which he made into Guienne, in the ſummer of this year, to receive the homage of the barons of that province, he was captivated with the charms of Iſabel, the young and fair daughter of Aymar, earl of Engouleſme, and the betrothed wife of Hugh le Brun, earl of La Marche, to whom ſhe had been delivered. Aymar, dazzled with the luſtre of a crown, decoyed his daughter from her betrothed huſband; and John having obtained a divorce from his wife, to whom he had been married ten years, and with whom he had received the earldom of Gloceſter, and many great eſtates, was married to Iſabel by the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux [110]. This marriage, equally criminal and imprudent, created him many enemies; amongſt whom the injured huſband was the moſt violent and implacable. The king conducted his young queen into England, and they were both ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter, October 8th, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury [111].

King of Scotland does homage to John, William king of Scotland, conducted by the biſhop of Durham and three Engliſh earls, arrived at Lincoln November 21ſt, and the day after did homage to king John, for the territories that he held of the crown of England, on a hill without that city, in preſence of a great con-

109 M. Paris, p. 139. 110 Hoveden, p. 457. M. Paris, p. 140.
111 R. Hoveden, p. 461.

courſe

courſe of the nobility of both kingdoms; inſiſting, at the ſame time, with much earneſtneſs, on the immediate reſtitution of the northern counties. But the final deciſion of that claim was put off to the next Whitſuntide [112]. A.D.1200.

King John, with his young queen, and a very ſplendid court, ſpent the firſt months of this year in a continued courſe of feaſting, in which he much delighted; and, celebrating the feſtival of Eaſter at Canterbury, he and his queen wore their crowns and royal robes, in imitation of the ancient kings and queens of England [113]. But he was ſoon awakened from this dream of pleaſure, by receiving intelligence from the continent, that the enraged earl of La Marche, his brother the earl of Eu, and ſeveral other barons, had raiſed a rebellion in Guienne: on which he ſummoned all his Engliſh vaſſals and military tenants, to meet him with their horſes and arms at Portſmouth, on Whitſunday, in order to attend him to the continent. Many of the Engliſh barons began on this occaſion to diſcover their diſcontent; and, thinking the war too trifling for ſuch an expenſive expedition, declined to obey the ſummons; which obliged him to embark with a ſmaller army than he intended [114]. Soon after his arrival on the continent, he had an interview with the king of France, who invited him to Paris, where he was lodged with A.D.1201. John's expedition into Guienne, &c.

[112] R. Hoveden, p. 462. [113] Diceto, col. 709.
[114] R. Hoveden, p. 466. col. 1.

his

A.D.1201. his queen and court in the royal palace, and nobly entertained [115]. Departing from Paris, he put himſelf at the head of his army, and marched to the borders of Guienne. But inſtead of proſecuting the war with vigour, he entered into a negotiation with the rebellious barons; and having pacified them a little, by promiſing to remove all the cauſes of their complaints, he returned to Rouen, to enjoy the ſociety of his queen and the pleaſures of his court [116].

Prince Arthur becomes duke of Britanny.

In the mean time, Conſtantia ducheſs of Britanny dying at Nantes, Auguſt 31ſt, her only ſon Arthur took poſſeſſion of that duchy, and ſoon after began to enter into engagements with the diſcontented barons of Guienne, and to lay claim to all the dominions of his family on the continent, to which he had an undoubted right [117].

A.D.1202. King of France eſpouſes the cauſe of prince Arthur.

Philip, king of France, had for ſome time paſt been greatly embroiled with the pope, who had laid his kingdom under an interdict; and, on that account, he had thought it prudent to cultivate peace with all his neighbours, and particularly with king John [118]. But being in the beginning of this year reconciled to the court of Rome, he found himſelf at liberty to purſue different meaſures. He now openly declared himſelf the protector of the diſcontented barons of Guienne, and of the young duke of Britanny,

[115] R. Hoveden, p. 466. col. 1.
[116] Gul. Breto. Philip. l. 6.
[117] Annal. Burton. p. 262.
[118] Hoveden, p. 456.

and

and threatened John with an immediate war, if he did not do them juſtice. John, to divert this ſtorm, if poſſible, propoſed a perſonal interview. But at this interview, which was held, March 25th, near Andely, Philip's demands were ſo high, that they were rejected, and a war immediately commenced [119]. A.D. 1202.

In the beginning of this war the king of France made himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns in Normandy. But a very unfortunate event ſoon after happened that put a ſtop to his further progreſs. The youthful Arthur duke of Britanny, being now about ſixteen years of age, full of ſpirit, and animated with the moſt violent reſentment againſt a cruel ambitious uncle, who had robbed him of ſo fair a ſucceſſion, took the field at the head of two hundred knights, and was ſoon after joined by many of the diſaffected barons of Poitou and Guienne. As he was marching with his little army near the caſtle of Mirabel in Poitou, he received intelligence, that his grandmother queen Eleanor, who had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of her ſon againſt her grandſon, reſided in that caſtle. At the earneſt intreaty of his barons, to whom the queen was very obnoxious, he inveſted it. The baſs-court of the caſtle was taken; and the queen with the garriſon driven into the tower or keep, when John, informed of his mother's danger, flew to her relief with an army of Engliſh and Braban- Prince Arthur taken priſoner by king John.

[119] M. Paris, p. 144. col. 2.

cons.

A.D. 1202. cons. At the approach of this army the beſiegers marched out to meet them, Auguſt 1ſt; but being overpowered by ſuperior numbers, they fled back into the caſtle, where they were all either killed or taken priſoners. Among the latter was the unfortunate duke of Britanny, and the earl of La Marche (John's two greateſt enemies), with many barons, and above two hundred knights, who were all loaded with irons, and ſent to different priſons in Normandy and England [120]. The king of France was ſo much affected with the news of this diſaſter that had befallen his friends, that he raiſed the ſiege of Arques, in which he was then engaged, and retired to Paris [121].

A.D. 1203. Prince Arthur murdered.

If king John had known how to uſe the advantage he had gained with moderation and prudence, it might have contributed not a little to the peace and proſperity of his future reign. But by purſuing a contrary conduct, it involved him in guilt, diſgrace, and miſery. Prince Arthur was at firſt confined in the caſtle of Falaiſe; where ſeveral perſons were ſolicited to diſpatch him, but rejected the baſe propoſal. On this he was conducted to the caſtle of Rouen, where king John reſided. Here the unhappy prince was murdered, April 3d, in a manner not certainly known, and differently reported by

120 M. Paris, p. 144, 145. Annal Waverlien, p. 167. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 458.

121 M. Paris, p. 145. col. 1.

hiſtorians, though they all agree, that the horrid deed was perpetrated at the inſtigation, if not by the hand, of his moſt cruel uncle [122]. A.D. 1203.

Immediately after this execrable act, John haſtened into England, carrying with him the princeſs Eleanora, commonly called *The Maid of Britanny*, the ſiſter of the late prince Arthur; and having committed her to priſon, under keepers, on whom he could depend, he returned to Normandy [123]. Many of the other priſoners were ſo cruelly treated, that they periſhed in their confinement, and no fewer than twenty-two of the nobleſt and braveſt of them were ſtarved to death in Corf caſtle [124]. King John having brought over the maid of Britanny, returns to Normandy.

No ſooner were thoſe cruel tranſactions publiſhed to the world, than John became the object of general execration [125]. The barons of Britanny accuſed him of the murder of their prince before the king of France, of whom he held all his continental territories; and on his not appearing to anſwer to that charge, he was found guilty of treaſon and felony, and all his dominions forfeited [126]. To execute this ſentence Philip put himſelf at the head of his army; and being joined by ſeveral barons of Poitou, Anjou, and Maine, he made great progreſs in the con- John's foreign dominions invaded by the King of France.

[122] Annal. Margan, p. 13. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36. Chron. W. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 94. M. Paris, p. 145. col. 1. Hen. Knighton, col. 2414.

[123] Chron. T. Wikes, p. 36.

[124] Id. ibid.

[125] M. Paris, p. 145. col. 2.

[126] Annal. de Margan, p. 13.

queſt

A.D.1203. queſt of Normandy in the courſe of this campaign, while his infatuated rival ſpent his time at Rouen, in a ſucceſſion of ſleeping and rioting; and at length, December 6th, he abandoned the continent, and embarked for England [127].

A.D.1204. John having returned to England, Philip reduces almoſt all his foreign dominions.

After this ſhameful retreat of king John, Philip redoubled his efforts to complete the reduction of Normandy, which he accompliſhed before the end of this ſummer [128]. At the ſame time, and with equal facility, he got poſſeſſion of the provinces of Anjou, Poitou, and Maine, except a few places [129].

John's oppreſſive government.

To alleviate in ſome meaſure the intolerable ignominy of loſing ſo many fair provinces, the inheritance of his anceſtors, without ſo much as attempting to preſerve them, John endeavoured to throw ſome part of the blame upon his Engliſh barons, who, he pretended, had forſaken him, and thereby put it out of his power to defend his territories; for which he fined ſome, and confiſcated the eſtates of others [130]. In theſe oppreſſive meaſures he was ſupported by the great influence and authority of Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury in the church, and of Geoffrey Fitz-Peters, the chief juſticiary, in the ſtate [131]. He alſo prevailed upon a parliament, held at Oxford, to grant him a ſcutage of two marks and a half

[127] Annal. de Margan, p. 13. M. Paris, p. 146. col. 1. Chron. Trevite, ann. 1203.

[128] Annal. Waverlien. p. 168. Chron. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 100.

[129] Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 459. [130] M. Paris, p. 146. col. 1.

[131] Id. Ibid.

upon

upon every knight's fee, for raiſing an army to be ſent to Normandy [132]. But no army was either raiſed or ſent. A.D. 1204.

In the ſpring of this year, king John, feigning to have formed a reſolution to attempt the recovery of his foreign territories, ſummoned all his barons, and other military tenants, to meet him at Portſmouth on Whitſunday, in order to attend him in an expedition to the continent. But when the army was aſſembled, and all things in readineſs, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by the archbiſhop of Canterbury to change his mind, and diſmiſs his troops. In a few weeks, however, changing, or pretending to change, his mind a ſecond time, he embarked at Portſmouth with a ſmall retinue, and put to ſea, July 15th; but two days after returned to Stodland near Wareham, where he landed, making this ridiculous excurſion a pretence for exacting money from his military tenants for their non-attendance [133]. By this conduct, equally capricious and tyrannical, he incurred ſtill more and more the contempt of his enemies and the hatred of his ſubjects. A.D. 1205. John's further oppreſſions.

John, being importuned by ſome of the nobles of Poitou, who ſtill adhered to the Engliſh intereſt, to come to their aſſiſtance; and being alſo encouraged to that undertaking by Guy de Thouars, who governed Britanny, and was become jealous of the increaſing power of France, A.D. 1206. John's unſucceſsful expedition to the continent, and his return to England.

[132] Mat. Weſtmonaſterienſ. ann. 1204. [133] M. Paris, p. 148.

A.D.1206. seemed at last to be roused from his ignominious indolence, and raised an army, with which he embarked at Portsmouth, June 25th, and landed at Rochelle, July 9th [134]. But he did not conduct this enterprize in such a manner as to retrieve his honour, or recover any part of his dominions. For though he was joined by many barons of Poitou and Britanny, he did little more than plunder the open country; and as soon as the king of France approached with an army, he began to think of making his retreat. In order to accomplish this, he proposed a personal interview with Philip to treat of an accommodation; to which that prince agreed. But John, instead of appearing at the time and place appointed for the interview, made use of that opportunity of retiring with his army to Rochelle. By the mediation of the pope, and at the earnest intreaty of certain ecclesiastical negotiators, a truce for two years was concluded at Thouars, October 27th; not long after which John embarked with his army for England, and landed at Portsmouth December 12th [135].

A.D.1207. and 1208. John's quarrel with the pope.

The famous quarrel between king John and the pope about the choice of an archbishop of Canterbury was now commenced, and had come to so great a height, that the kingdom of England was laid under an interdict, March 24th, and the king was threatened with excommunica-

[134] M. Paris, p. 149. [135] Id. ibid. Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 141.

tion.

tion [136]. To guard againſt the effects of theſe papal thunders, which in thoſe days of darkneſs and ſuperſtition made the greateſt monarchs tremble, John demanded and obtained hoſtages from his chief nobility, as a further ſecurity for their obedience and fidelity [137]. A.D. 1207, and 1208.

William king of Scotland had long been diſcontented, becauſe the conſideration of his claim to the northern counties had been put off from time to time. John, on the other hand, was no leſs diſſatisfied with that prince—for having demoliſhed a fort near Berwick—for having entertained fugitives from England—and for other cauſes [138]. To put an end to theſe diſputes, John marched into the north in the ſpring of this year, at the head of a very powerful army, and was met by William at the head of his forces, on the borders of Scotland. When the two armies lay facing each other near the caſtle of Norham, a treaty was propoſed and concluded. By this treaty, which was ratified at Northampton, Auguſt 7th, William agreed to pay to John fifteen thouſand marks at four different terms, in conſideration of certain conceſſions made to him in another charter, which is not preſerved; and alſo to ſend his two daughters to be educated in the court of England, but not to be conſidered as hoſtages [139]. A.D. 1209. John's expedition againſt Scotland, and peace made.

136 See chap. 11. cent. 13.
137 M. Paris, p. 158.
138 Chron. Hemingford, l. 2. c. 101. M. Paris, p. 151. col. 2.
139 Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 155.

A.D.1209. John's unpopular government.

After his return from this northern expedition, John iſſued a proclamation, commanding all freeholders and tenants of the crown to repeat their homage, and renew their oaths of fealty; which prevented any commotions ariſing when the long-dreaded ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt him in the month of November [140]. But though the affection of his ſubjects was at this time ſo neceſſary to the ſupport of his government, this imprudent prince could not refrain from an unpopular and tyrannical exerciſe of his authority. He forbid the two admired diverſions of hunting and hawking, under the ſevereſt penalties, and commanded all the fences about the royal foreſts to be thrown down, that his deer might have free acceſs to the corn-fields [141].

A.D.1210. John's expedition into Ireland.

In the firſt four months of this year, king John was keenly engaged in extorting money from his ſubjects, both clergy and laity, and particularly from the Jews, in order, as he pretended, to raiſe an army for an expedition into Normandy [142]. But when the army was raiſed, inſtead of directing his march towards Normandy, he paſſed through Wales, and landed in Ireland, June 6th. At his arrival in Dublin, more than twenty of the chieftains and petty princes of that country waited upon him, did homage, and ſwore fealty to him as their ſove-

[140] M. Paris, p. 159. [141] Id. ibid.
[142] Annal. Waverlien. p. 172. M. Paris, p. 160.

reign [143]. During his ſtay in Ireland, which was about three months, he reduced the province of Connaught; drove Hugh de Lacy earl of Ulſter, and his brother Walter de Lacy earl of Meath, againſt whom he had a quarrel, out of the country; and having thus overcome all oppoſition to his authority, he eſtabliſhed the Engliſh laws in that iſland, and coined money of the ſame denominations, weight, and fineneſs, with that of England [144]. A.D. 1210.

After his return from his Iriſh expedition, which was the moſt ſucceſsful tranſaction of his unhappy reign, he held an aſſembly of all the abbots, abbeſſes, priors, and ſuperiors of religious houſes at London; and forced them to pay him no leſs than one hundred thouſand pounds before he would allow them to depart [145]: a ſufficient proof of *their* wealth, as well as of *his* tyranny. John extorts money from the monks and nuns.

The honour that John had acquired by his expedition into Ireland, encouraged him to undertake one this year, againſt Llewellyn prince of North Wales, though he was his own ſon-in-law, by having married his natural daughter, named Jane. In his firſt attempt his army was reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, which obliged him to return to England. Irritated at this diſappointment, he collected ſufficient quantities of victuals of all kinds, and A.D. 1211. John's expedition into Wales.

[143] M. Paris, p. 160.
[144] Id. ibid.
[145] Id. ibid.

A.D.1211. marched back into Wales, with ſo great an army, that Llewellyn, deſpairing of being able to defend his country, ſent his conſort to her father to implore a peace; which ſhe obtained, on theſe conditions, that Llewellyn ſhould do homage to John for his principality,—pay twenty thouſand head of cattle, and forty horſes, for the expences of the war,—and give twenty-eight hoſtages for his future fidelity [146]. Returning triumphant from this expedition, John obliged all his military tenants who had not attended him in it, to pay a ſcutage of two marks for every knight's fee [147].

A.D.1212. Diſcontents of the Engliſh barons.

The ſucceſs of his three expeditions into Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, contributed not a little to ſupport John's authority, and prevent any commotions in England, though that kingdom had now been about four years under an interdict. He was on the beſt terms with his neareſt and moſt powerful neighbour the king of Scotland, with whom he had an interview at Durham, February 2d, and whoſe eldeſt ſon prince Alexander he knighted at London, March 4th [148]. But notwithſtanding this external tranquillity, and all theſe fair appearances, many of the Engliſh barons were ſecretly diſaffected, and waited only for a favourable opportunity to revenge the injuries they had ſuffered from the avarice, luſt, and cruelty of their

[146] Powel Hiſt. Wales. p. 264. M. Paris, p. 160.
[147] M. Paris, p. 160.
[148] Id. p. 161.

ſovereign. Such an opportunity was ſoon preſented. A.D. 1212.

John depoſed by the pope, and deſerted by many of his barons.

The pope finding that the interdict and excommunication had not produced the deſired effect, proceeded to greater extremities, pronounced a formal ſentence of depoſition againſt John, abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of fealty, and invited the king of France, and all other Chriſtian princes and people, to join in a croiſade for putting that ſentence in execution [149]. Llewellyn prince of Wales was the firſt who took the field to execute this papal decree; and falling with an army into the Engliſh marches, deſtroyed the country with fire and ſword. Enraged at theſe cruelties, John raiſed a great army; and threatening the total extirpation of the Welſh, marched to Nottingham, where he commanded the twenty-eight young gentlemen who had been given as hoſtages for the late peace, to be hanged [150]. At this place he received the firſt hints of the deſigns that were ſecretly forming againſt him by his barons, in letters from the king of Scotland, which were confirmed by ſimilar intimations ſent him by his daughter the princeſs of Wales. Alarmed at this intelligence, and not knowing whom to ſuſpect or whom to truſt, he ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Nottingham, for fifteen days; when recovering a little from his firſt ſurpriſe, he

149 Annal. Waverlien. p. 174. M. Paris, p. 162. Mat. Weſtmonaſterienſ. ann. 1212.

150 M. Paris, p. 161.

A.D.1212. marched forward to Cheſter. But here, receiving accounts from ſeveral quarters, that the plots againſt him were ripe for execution, and that if he proceeded any further he would either be aſſaſſinated or delivered to the enemy, he diſmiſſed his army, and haſtened back to London, to take meaſures for his preſervation. Some of the conſpirators, as Euſtace de Veſci, and Robert Fitz-Walter, fled out of the kingdom; others were impriſoned on ſuſpicion; and the reſt gave their ſons and neareſt relations as hoſtages for their fidelity [151]. Still further to guard againſt the dreaded danger, he ſeldom appeared in public, and kept certain companies of foreign mercenaries conſtantly about his perſon [152]. Conferences were held towards the end of this year with Pandulph and Durand, the pope's agents, in order to an accommodation with the court of Rome; but John being not yet ſufficiently humbled to ſubmit to the ignominious yoke they intended to wreath about his neck, theſe conferences broke off without effect [153].

A.D.1213. Preparations in France for invading England.

The effects of the ſentence of depoſition that had been pronounced by the pope againſt the king of England, now began to appear in a very formidable light. The king of France had ſpent the greateſt part of laſt year in preparing a fleet and army for executing that ſentence, by invading England, dethroning John, and ſeating

151 M. Paris, p. 161. Chron. Triveti, ann. 1212.
152 Annal. Waverlien. p. 173. 153 Id. p. 174, 175.

himſelf

himſelf in his room. All things being in readi- A.D. 1213.
neſs, the French army was appointed to rendezvous at Rouen, April 21ſt, and from thence to march to Boulogne, where a fleet of ſeventeen hundred ſhips was prepared for their reception [154].

John was not wanting to himſelf on this occaſion; but made every poſſible preparation for a brave defence. On March 3d, he ſent precepts to the bailiffs of all the ſea-ports of England commanding them to take an exact liſt of all the ſhips in thoſe ports capable of carrying ſix horſes or upwards, and to order the maſters of theſe ſhips to have them at Portſmouth on or before the 24th of that month [155]. About the ſame time he ſent ſimilar precepts to the ſheriffs, commanding them to ſummon all the earls, barons, knights, military tenants, or others who had or ought to have arms, in their reſpective counties, to appear at Dover, April 21ſt, for the defence of the kingdom, of the king's life, and of their own lives [156]. In obedience to this ſummons, ſuch prodigious multitudes crowded to the rendezvous, that a ſcarcity of proviſions followed, and obliged the king to diſmiſs all who were imperfectly armed; after which no fewer than ſixty thouſand brave and well-appointed troops remained [157].

John's preparations for oppoſing the invaders.

154 M. Paris, p. 162.
155 Id. ibid.
156 Id. p. 163.
157 Id. ibid.

When

A.D.1213. John reconciled to the pope, and becomes his vaſſal.

When the kings of France and England were thus ſtationed on the oppoſite ſhores, at the head of all their forces, ready to determine the fate of this mighty kingdom, Pandulph, the pope's legate, ſent two knights templars to John to propoſe a private conference. The propoſal was accepted; and the legate, in an interview with John at Dover, painted the power of Philip in ſuch ſtrong colours, and gave him ſuch convincing evidence of the general diſaffection of his own nobility, that he was overwhelmed with diſmay, and declared himſelf ready to ſubmit to any terms for his preſervation from impending ruin. The artful agent of Rome having brought the wretched prince to this point, produced the conditions on which the pope was willing to relax him from the cenſures, and receive him into the protection, of the church; which were immediately ſubſcribed, May 13th, by him and his greateſt barons. By this agreement John engaged to receive Stephen Langton, the archbiſhop appointed by the pope, with all the biſhops and clergy who had adhered to him, into favour, and to repair all the damages they had ſuſtained, in the courſe of this long and violent quarrel, on the performance of which the interdict was to be taken off[158]. To give a more effectual check to the king of France (of whoſe power the pope began to be afraid), and to bring

[158] Chron. N. Triveti, ann. 1213. Annal. Waverlien. p. 177. M. Paris, p. 164.

the

the thunders of the church to point directly upon him if he presumed to proceed in his enterprise against England, it was contrived, most probably by Pandulph, that John should resign his kingdoms of England and Ireland into the hands of his holiness, and agree to hold them of him; paying a tribute of seven hundred marks a-year for the former, and three hundred marks for the latter: and this ignominious ceremony was actually performed at Dover, May 15th [159]. A.D. 1213.

Pandulph having thus effectually accomplished his designs in England, and acquired the sovereignty of two kingdoms to the church of Rome, returned to France, and commanded Philip, in the pope's name, to desist from attempting any thing against the king of England, who was become the vassal of the holy see. To this insolent command that monarch, after some angry but vain expostulations, thought it prudent to yield obedience [160]. In this manner, in those days of darkness and superstition, did an old infirm priest, sitting in his chamber at Rome, regulate all the motions of the most powerful princes as he pleased! The papal legate commands the king of France to desist from his intended invasion of England.

The king of France being thus obliged to abandon his intended invasion of England, turned his arms against Ferrand earl of Flanders, who, with some other princes on the continent, had entered into an alliance with king John, to form Engagement between the English and French fleets.

159 M. Paris, p. 165. Knighton, l. 11. c. 15. col. 2419.
160 M. Paris, p. 165.

a ba-

A.D.1213. a balance against the increasing power of Philip [161]. The French army being very great, took several of the strongest towns of Flanders in a little time, and threatened the conquest of the whole country. In this extremity, Ferrand implored the assistance of all his allies, and particularly of the king of England; who commanded his fleet, consisting of five hundred ships, which had been collected for the defence of the kingdom against the expected invasion, to sail from Portsmouth, and attack the French fleet on the coast of Flanders. These two great fleets (that of France being still more numerous than the other) met off the port of Dam, where they immediately engaged, and the English obtained a complete victory, taking three hundred vessels loaded with provisions, &c. destroying one hundred, and dispersing all the rest [162]. Philip was so much confounded at the news of this great disaster, by which he and his nobility had lost their most valuable effects, that he retired with his army into his own dominions, and gave orders to burn such of his ships as were in danger of falling into the hands of the English.

John's intended expedition into Normandy prevented this year.

John, as much elated as his rival was dejected by this event, formed the scheme of an expedition to the continent for the recovery of his foreign territories; which, if it had been executed with spirit, could hardly have failed of success. But when this design was communi-

[161] Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 157. 160, 161.
[162] M. Paris, p. 166. Mezeray, vol. 2. p. 622.

cated

cated to the nobility, who were in general dis- A.D.1213.
affected, they refuſed to engage in it, alleging that the time of their ſervice was expired, and that their proviſions were exhauſted [163]. Though John was much enraged at this refuſal, not having it in his power to compel them by force, he tried to bring them by a ſtratagem to engage in this expedition. With this view he embarked with his houſehold troops, and ſailed from Portſmouth to Jerſey, hoping that his barons would follow him with their forces. But, inſtead of this, they ſeparated, and retired to their reſpective countries: of which John being informed, he returned to England more enraged than ever. Having collected a conſiderable army, chiefly of mercenaries, he directed his march towards the north, with a reſolution to chaſtiſe ſome of the barons in thoſe parts, who were the chief objects of his reſentment. But when he had proceeded as far as Nottingham, he was overtaken by archbiſhop Langton, who threatened him and all his followers with the terrible ſentence of excommunication, if he proſecuted his revenge any further; which obliged him to deſiſt [164].

A.D.1214. John's unſucceſsful expedition to the continent.

Though John had been thus conſtrained to delay his expedition to the continent, he had by no means abandoned the deſign; in which he was encouraged by his allies, the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, Thouloufe, and Auvergne. All theſe princes came over to England in January this

163 M. Paris, p. 166.

164 Id. p. 167.

year,

A.D.1214. year, and formed a plan for invading France on both ſides at the ſame time; on the ſide of Flanders, by Otho emperor of Germany, the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, aſſiſted by ſome Engliſh troops; on the other ſide by king John, in conjunction with the earls of Thouloufe, Auvergne, and his other confederates in thoſe parts [165]. To execute his part of this plan, king John embarked with an army at Portſmouth February 2d, landed at Rochelle February 15th; and being joined by his allies, took ſeveral towns in Poitou and Anjou [166]. His other allies invaded France on the other ſide, at the ſame time, with an army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men. But this great army was defeated at Bovines, July 27th: the earls of Flanders, Holland, Boulogne, and Saliſbury, with about one hundred and forty other earls and barons, were taken priſoners; and the emperor Otho made his eſcape with much difficulty [167]. On receiving the news of this diſaſter, and of the approach of Louis prince of France with an army, John retired with great precipitation, abandoned all his conqueſts, and returned to England, October 19th, having concluded a five years truce with king Philip [168].

A.D.1215. Civil war between The ſchemes that had been forming for ſome time paſt among the Engliſh barons, for recover-

[165] M. Paris, p. 172.
[166] Id. p. 172, 173. Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 189.
[167] Chron. Mailros, p. 187. M. Paris, p. 174, 175.
[168] Rymer Fœd. p. 192.

ing

ing and ſecuring their liberties, being now become ripe for execution, a great number of theſe barons, attended by their followers in arms, waited upon the king, at London, January 6th, and demanded a confirmation of the liberties that had been granted to their anceſtors by Henry I. in his charter, a copy of which they produced [169]. After ſome altercation, the king promiſed to return an anſwer to this demand at the end of Eaſter next; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the biſhop of Ely and the earl of Pembroke, becoming ſureties for his performing this promiſe, the barons were ſatisfied, and retired. John reſolving in his own mind not to grant the demands of his barons, employed various arts to ſecure himſelf from the effects of their reſentment. With this view he commanded all his ſubjects to renew their oaths of fealty;—granted to all cathedrals, monaſteries, and conventual ſocieties, the right of electing their ſuperiors;—took the croſs for the recovery of the Holy Land;—and ſent ambaſſadors to his ſovereign lord the pope to accuſe his barons of rebellion, and ſolicit the thunders of the church againſt them [170]. By theſe ſteps, the barons being convinced that nothing could be obtained without a ſufficient power to enforce their demands, aſſembled at Stamford in Eaſter week, with all their followers, who conſtituted a formidable army, and marched, April 27th, to

A.D. 1215. King John and his barons.

169 M. Paris, p. 176. 170 Id. ibid. Rymer Fœd. p. 197.

Bracley,

A.D.1215. Bracley, about fifteen miles from Oxford, where the king then reſided [171]. On the approach of the barons, John ſent the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Pembroke, to aſk what were the liberties and privileges that they deſired. To theſe ambaſſadors the barons delivered a ſchedule, containing the heads of their demands; which being preſented to the king, he rejected them with indignation, declaring, that he never would grant ſuch liberties to his ſubjects as would make himſelf a ſlave [172]. On receiving this anſwer, the barons, without paying any regard to the pope's letters, threatening them with excommunication, broke out into open war, and inveſted the caſtle of Northampton, which they could not take for want of battering engines [173]. But they were more ſucceſsful in their next attempts. For after they had taken the caſtle of Bedford, having received an invitation from the chief citizens of London, they marched thither, and took poſſeſſion of that capital, May 24th [174].

King John grants the great charter.

The king, who had retired from Oxford to Odeham, finding himſelf abandoned almoſt by all the world, ſent the earl of Pembroke to the inſurgents at London, to propoſe a conference in order to an accommodation. This conference was accordingly held in a large meadow between Windſor and Stanes, where, on Friday, June

[171] M. Paris. [172] Id. ibid.
[173] Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 196, 197. M. Paris, p. 177.
[174] Id. ibid.

19th,

19th, the famous charter, called *Magna Charta*, or, *The Great Charter*, was granted by king John [175]. To ſecure the poſſeſſion of thoſe ineſtimable privileges granted by this charter, the palladium of Engliſh liberty, many precautions were taken by the barons, and, in particular, twenty-five of their own number were appointed to be conſervators of the charter, and inveſted with the moſt extenſive powers for that purpoſe [176]. A.D. 1215.

John's diſcontent at his granting the great charter, and his preparations for recalling it.

After king John had granted this charter, he became ſullen, melancholy, and dejected; and retiring with a few confidents to the Iſle of Wight, he began to form ſchemes for recovering the prerogatives which he had relinquiſhed. With this view he diſpatched orders to all the commanders of his caſtles, to repair their fortifications, and furniſh them with proviſions. He ſent agents to the continent, to collect an army of Brabantines and other mercenaries, and bring them into England;—and by ambaſſadors, he again applied to the pope for his protection and aſſiſtance [177]. While theſe emiſſaries were executing their commiſſions, John lived for three months in the greateſt obſcurity in the Iſle of Wight, converſing only with the ſailors of the Cinque ports, whoſe affections he thereby gained.

The pope condemns the great

The king's ambaſſadors met with a moſt favourable reception at the court of Rome; and

[175] See Judge Blackſtone's Law-tracts, vol. 2. introduc. See chap. 3.

[176] M. Paris, p. 181.

[177] Id. p. 183, 184.

having

A.D. 1215. having read ſome of the moſt offenſive articles of the great charter to the pope, his holineſs knit his brows, and ſwore by St. Peter, "that he "would not ſuffer a king who bore the ſign of "the croſs, and was a vaſſal of the Holy See, "to be treated in that manner with impunity [178]." To execute theſe threats, he iſſued one bull, Auguſt 24th, annulling the great charter, as extorted by force; and another, not long after, denouncing excommunication againſt the barons and all their favourers [179].

charter, and excommunicates the barons.

John takes Rocheſter caſtle.

About the time that theſe bulls were brought to England, John received a more effectual ſuccour, by the landing of a great army of Brabantines, and other mercenaries, at Dover; which encouraged him to emerge from his obſcurity, and inveſt the caſtle of Rocheſter. This was a dreadful blow upon the barons, who had been lulled aſleep by the king's retirement, and the contempt in which they held him. The caſtle, however, was bravely defended by a garriſon of one hundred and forty knights, with their followers, under the command of William de Albeney. But at the end of two months, their proviſions being exhauſted, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, November 30th [180].

A.D. 1216. Operations of the war.

In the beginning of this year, king John's affairs were in a very flouriſhing ſituation. Having divided his forces, which were very numerous,

[178] M. Paris, p. 184. [179] Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 204, 205. 208.
[180] M. Paris, p. 187.

into

into two armies, he left one of them under the command of the earl of Saliſbury near London, and marched with the other into the north. The firſt of theſe armies greatly ſtraitened the metropolis, and took ſeveral towns and caſtles in its neighbourhood; and the ſecond ſtruck ſuch terror as it advanced northward, that the confederated barons of Yorkſhire and Northumberland abandoned their country and fled into Scotland [181]. John, as uſual, made a cruel uſe of his ſuperiority, deſolating the open country with fire and ſword, and burning all the towns that fell into his hands, particularly Morpeth, Alnwick, Berwick, Roxburgh, Dunbar, and Haddington, which were all reduced to aſhes, in the month of January this year [182]. About the ſame time, the pope's bull, excommunicating all the confederated barons by name, and laying their lands under an interdict, was publiſhed in all parts of England except London [183]. A.D. 1216.

The barons being thus reduced to the very brink of ruin, and knowing too well the cruel unrelenting diſpoſition of their prince to think of making their ſubmiſſion, ſent their general, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Saker earl of Winton, to Philip king of France, to make an offer of the throne of England to prince Louis, his eldeſt ſon. A dangerous ſtep! to which nothing could have driven them but deſpair, which, a contemporary

The barons offer the crown of England to Louis prince of France.

181 Chron. Mailros, p. 190. M. Paris, p. 190.
182 Id. p. 191. Chron. Mailros, p. 190. 183 M. Paris, p. 192.

A.D.1216. hiſtorian tells us, was ſo great, that they curſed both the king and the pope, in the bitterneſs of their ſouls[184]. Their ſplendid offer was joyfully accepted by Philip and his ſon, who ſent them an immediate reinforcement of ſeven thouſand men, and prepared to bring them in perſon a more effectual relief[185].

Prince Louis lands with his army, takes Rocheſter, and enters London.

Theſe preparations were carried on with ſo much vigour, that prince Louis arrived with a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips, at the iſle of Thanet, and landed his army at Sandwich, May 23d, without oppoſition[186]. Having taken the caſtle of Rocheſter in his march, May 30th, he entered London, June 2d, in a kind of triumph, amidſt the loudeſt acclamations of the citizens, the barons, and their followers, who did homage to him as their ſovereign, and received his promiſe, upon oath, that he would reſtore them to all their poſſeſſions, and protect them in all their privileges[187].

King John in great diſtreſs.

The ſtate of things was now entirely changed, and king John, who a few months before was on the point of overwhelming all his enemies, was obliged to retire from place to place, being abandoned by ſeveral of his barons, and many of his mercenaries. The pope was ſtill his ſteady friend, and by the hands of Gualo, his legate in England, diſcharged all the artillery of the church againſt his adverſaries. But theſe, being unſup-

[184] M. Paris, p. 193.
[185] Radulf. Niger, p. 144.
[186] M. Paris, p. 195.
[187] Id. ibid.

ported by a military force, did little execution. A.D. 1216.

Prince Louis beſieges Dover caſtle in vain.

After prince Louis had received the homage of the Londoners and the barons of his party, he took the field, and in a few months reduced all the ſouth of England to his obedience, except the caſtle of Dover. It was before this caſtle, which he inveſted July 22d, that the prince met with an obſtacle, that put a ſtop to the current of his proſperity. The brave Hubert de Burgh, at the head of one hundred and forty knights, beſides a great number of gentlemen and common ſoldiers, defended it with ſo much ſkill and valour, that many of the beſiegers were ſlain, and all their attacks repulſed, though they employed againſt it the moſt famous battering engine then in the world, called *Evil-neighbour*[188]. This obſtinate reſiſtance ſo irritated prince Louis, that he ſwore a ſolemn oath, That he would not raiſe the ſiege till he had taken the caſtle, and hanged all the garriſon[189]. An oath which he was never able to perform, and which probably loſt him the crown of England.

Operations of the war, and death of king John.

While prince Louis was waſting his time and ſtrength to no purpoſe before the caſtle of Dover, king John, having recruited his army, broke into the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, and committed dreadful devaſtations on the eſtates of the revolted barons. Some of thoſe barons alſo began to diſcover their error in inviting one to be

[188] M. Paris, p. 198. [189] Id, ibid.

A.D.1216. their protector, who might become their conqueror; and Louis had given ſuch plain indications of his partiality to his own countrymen, and averſion to the Engliſh, that the earl of Saliſbury, William Mareſchal, Walter Beauchamp, and ſeveral others, abandoned his party. But king John did not live to enjoy this returning dawn of good fortune. For having marched from Lyne-Regis in Norfolk, over the ſands into Lincolnſhire, at an improper time, the rear of his army was overtaken by the flowing tide, and fell into certain quickſands in which he loſt all his carriages, containing his regalia, money, proviſions, and baggage of all kinds. This diſaſter, added to many other cauſes of chagrin, threw him into a fever, which increaſed ſo faſt, that it was with great difficulty he reached Newark upon Trent; where he died, October 19th, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign. In his laſt moments he is ſaid to have received letters from forty of the revolted barons, declaring their reſolution to return to his obedience, which (though they came too late to afford him any comfort) produced a revolution favourable to his family, which will be related in the beginning of the fourth book of this work [190].

Character of king John.

The odious character that hath been given of king John by all our ancient hiſtorians, is but

[190] M. Paris, p. 198, 199. Chron. Triveti, ann. 1216. Hen. Knyghton, col. 2425. Annal. Waverlien. p. 182.

too well ſupported by the particulars of his hiſtory. From thence it appears,—that he was an unnatural ſon, having conſpired againſt a moſt indulgent father;—an unkind brother, having attempted the ruin of king Richard, who had loaded him with favours;—a cruel uncle, having murdered his nephew prince Arthur, and kept his niece the princeſs Eleanora, in perpetual impriſonment;—a jealous and unfaithful huſband, having repudiated one wife, and impriſoned another, and violated his faith to both by innumerable adulteries. He diſcovered his contempt of religion,—by his wanton violation of the moſt ſolemn oaths,—his horrid habitual ſwearing,—and his inſipid ſarcaſms on ſacred things. The public character of this prince was, if poſſible, more deteſtable than his private; and if he was a bad man, he was a worſe king; having ſuffered himſelf to be ſtript of his foreign dominions without a ſtruggle, and ſubjected his kingdom to the ignominious yoke of Rome. In his adminiſtration he paid no regard to juſtice, law, or mercy; but acted the part of a luſtful, rapacious, and bloody tyrant, ſporting with the honours, the fortunes, and lives of his unhappy ſubjects. His tyranny was productive of many miſeries, to himſelf, his family, and his people; and yet, ſuch is the wiſdom and goodneſs of Divine Providence! it became the occaſion of many bleſſings to poſterity. For his intolerable oppreſſions drove his barons into the field, and procured them the Great Charter, which perhaps they A.D. 1216.

A.D.1216. would not have aſked from a better, nor obtained from a braver prince.

His iſſue. King John, beſides many natural children, left two legitimate ſons, and three daughters; viz. Henry, born October 1ſt, A. D. 1207; Richard, born January 6th, A. D. 1209; Jane, married to Alexander king of Scotland; Eleanor, married firſt to the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards to the famous earl of Leiceſter; and Iſabella, married to the emperor Frederic II.

Hiſtory of Wales. DAVID AP OWEN ſucceeded his father Owen Gwyneth in the government of North Wales, A. D. 1169, to the excluſion of Lhewelyn, his eldeſt brother's ſon, and kept poſſeſſion of it to A. D. 1194. He was then diſpoſſeſſed by prince Lhewelyn; and being defeated in ſeveral attempts he made to recover what he had loſt, he died, it is ſaid, of a broken heart A. D. 1204. From that time Lhewelyn defended his dominions with ſo much valour, and governed them with ſo much wiſdom, to his death, A. D. 1240, that he was much honoured and loved by the Welſh, who gave him the pompous title of *The Great* [191]. To relate the almoſt innumerable quarrels of the Welſh among themſelves, and with the Engliſh upon their borders, in this period, would take up much room, and could afford little inſtruction or entertainment. It is ſufficient to ſay, that they were the ſame brave and warlike people

[191] Powel's Hiſtory of Wales, p. 227—299.

they

they had ever been; and as they were under the direction of many petty chieftains, and had a moſt invincible antipathy to their neareſt neighbours, they were almoſt conſtantly engaged in war againſt one another, or againſt the Engliſh. A.D. 1216.

William the Lion, king of Scoland, reigned almoſt half a century, and was the contemporary of three kings of England. In the former part of his reign he was ſo unfortunate as to be taken priſoner (as hath been already related), and obliged to ſacrifice the independency of his kingdom to recover the freedom of his perſon. In the preſent period he was more proſperous. For Richard I. before his departure for the Holy Land, in order to gain the friendſhip of the king and people of Scotland, that they might not diſturb the peace of his dominions in his abſence, and in order to procure a ſum of money, of which he ſtood in need, agreed to reſtore William and his kingdom to their former independency. This was accordingly done at Canterbury, 5th December, A. D. 1189, by a charter, in which he reſtores the caſtles of Berwick and Roxburgh, relinquiſhes all obligations that his father Henry had extorted from William in his captivity; releaſes the people of Scotland from the oaths of homage they had taken to Henry, and gives up all charters containing theſe obligations and oaths[192]. For this valuable charter William paid to Richard ten thouſand History of Scotland in the reign of William the Lion.

[192] Rymer Fœdera, vol. 1. p. 64.

A.D. 1216. marks, equal in quantity of ſilver to about twenty thouſand pounds of our money at preſent, and in efficacy to one hundred thouſand pounds at leaſt [193]. This generous conceſſion of Richard ſeems to have gained the hearts of the king and people of Scotland, who could not be prevailed upon to join with the king of France and prince John in their ſchemes againſt that unfortunate prince in his diſtreſs, but, on the contrary, contributed a conſiderable ſum of money towards his ranſom [194]. William viſited Richard on his return to England after his captivity, aſſiſted at his ſecond coronation, obtained a charter, regulating the entertainment of the kings of Scotland in their journies to and from the court of England; but could not obtain the reſtitution of the northern counties [195].

The internal tranquillity of Scotland was diſturbed in the years 1196 and 1197, by ſome inſurrections in Caithneſs and Sutherland; but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and their authors puniſhed [196]. Several ſchemes had been propoſed for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown in caſe the king, who was now old, ſhould happen to die without male iſſue; but queen Ermangard was delivered of a ſon, who was named Alexander, A. D. 1198, which put an end to all theſe

193 Benedict. Abbas, p. 576.
194 Chron. de Mailros, ad ann. 1193.
195 Hoveden. Annal. p. 420, &c. Rymer Fœdera, tom. 1. p. 87.
196 Chron. Mailros, p. 189, 181.

ſchemes,

ſchemes, to the great joy both of the king and his ſubjects [197]. A.D. 1216.

After the acceſſion of king John to the crown of England, William did homage to him at Lincoln, 22d November, A. D. 1200, for his lands in England, with a ſaving of the rights of his crown [198]. He then demanded, as he had often done before, the reſtitution of the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Weſtmorland; but, at John's earneſt requeſt, allowed him till Whitſunday after to give his anſwer to this demand; which he delayed ſtill longer to give, on various pretences [199]. John's repeated delays to return a direct anſwer to the demand of the northern counties, and his erecting a caſtle oppoſite to Berwick, in which he was interrupted by William, increaſed the miſunderſtanding between the two monarchs, and threatened a war. To prevent this, John and William held a conference at Norham, A. D. 1204; but ſeparated without any poſitive agreement [200]. When things had continued ſome years in this unſettled ſtate, an open rupture took place, and both kings appeared at the head of their armies on the borders, A. D. 1209, ſeemingly reſolved to determine all their diſputes by the ſword, which they had long laboured in vain to ſettle by negotiation. But a battle was prevented by the interpoſition of the nobles of both nations, the armies

197 Chron. Mailros, p. 180, 181.

198 R. Hoveden. ad ann. 1200, p. 461, col. 2. 199 Id. ibid.

200 Fordun, l. 8. c. 66.

were

A.D. 1216. were diſbanded, and a conference appointed to be held between the two kings at Newcaſtle. The king of Scotland being ſuddenly taken ill at the beginning of the conference, nothing was concluded but a ſhort truce; at the expiration of which both kings collected their forces, and marched again to the borders [201]. The nobles interpoſed a ſecond time, and procured a meeting between their ſovereigns at Norham; in which a treaty of peace was concluded on conditions that are not very well known, becauſe the charter in which they were contained hath never been publiſhed, and is probably deſtroyed. All we know with certainty is,—that the king of Scotland bound himſelf to pay to John, 15,000 marks in two years, by four equal payments, to gain his good will, and to fulfil the conventions contained in a charter confirmed by both kings; —that he gave hoſtages to ſecure the payment of that money;—and that he put his two daughters into the hands of the king of England [202]. The only queſtion is, What were the conditions contained in that charter, for which ſo great a ſum of money was paid, and the princeſſes were delivered? An Engliſh parliament, about thirty years after this, declared, that the conditions were,—That the two princeſſes ſhould be married to king John's two ſons; and that the money, together with a renunciation of his claim to the northern counties, was given by William

[201] Fordun, l. 8. c. 69.

[202] Rymer Fœdera, t. 1. c. 155.

as

as their marriage-portion [203]. This is further confirmed by the claim to the northern counties being renewed by king Alexander, the ſon and ſucceſſor of William, and the repayment of the 15,000 marks demanded, becauſe the ſtipulations contained in that charter had not been performed [204]. William the Lion, after a lingering illneſs, died at Stirling, 6th December, A. D. 1214, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and forty-ninth of his reign [205]. A.D. 121

Alexander II. the only legitimate ſon of William, ſucceeded his father in the throne of Scotland, and was crowned at Scone, 20th December, A. D. 1214, being then in the ſeventeenth year of his age [206]. This young prince eſpouſed the cauſe of the Engliſh barons againſt king John, becauſe theſe barons engaged to ſurrender to him the northern counties, which had long been the great object of the ambition of the kings of Scotland. To fulfil his engagements with his allies, he raiſed an army, marched into Northumberland, and received the homage of the barons of that county, at Felton, 18th October A. D. 1215 [207]. King John, being now at the head of a powerful army of mercenaries, directed his march northward, deſtroying the eſtates of the confederated barons of Yorkſhire; who retired into Scotland, and did homage to Alexander at the Alexander II.

203 Additamenta M. Pariſienſis, p. 99. col. 1.
204 Rymer Fœd. t. 1. p. 375. col. 1.
205 Chron. Mailros, p. 186. 206 Id. ibid.
207 Id. p. 189.

abbey

A.D.1216. abbey of Melroſs, 15th January A. D. 1216[208]. But nothing could ſtop the progreſs of John and his mercenaries, who, in their march, burnt the towns of Morpeth, Alnwick, Wark, and Bokeſborough, and having taken Berwick, perpetrated the moſt horrid cruelties on the inhabitants. Advancing into Scotland, they burnt the towns of Dunbar and Haddington, and in their return the abbey of Coldingham and the town of Berwick; John declaring, that he was determined to ſmoke the little Red Fox (ſo he called Alexander) out of his hole[209]. King John being obliged to return into the ſouth, to oppoſe an expected invaſion from France, under prince Louis, Alexander invaded Cumberland in the month of February; and ſome of the Scots in his army, by whom the hiſtorians of thoſe times mean the people of the highlands, robbed the abbey of Holmcultram; but in their way home with their booty, about two thouſand of them were drowned in the river Eden[210]. Alexander invaded Cumberland a ſecond time, in the month of July, with all his army, except the Scots, i. e. the highlanders, and, in Auguſt, he took the city, but not the caſtle of Carliſle[211]. From thence he marched with his army quite through England, plundering the eſtates of thoſe barons who adhered to John; and arriving at Dover, where Louis was beſieging the caſtle, he did

[208] Chron. Mailros, p. 190.
[209] Id. ibid. M. Paris ad ann. 1215, 1216. p. 191.
[210] Chron. Mailros, p. 190.
[211] Id. p. 191.

homage

homage to that prince for all his lands in England, and particularly for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmorland, which were granted to him by charter[212]. On his return home he met with ſome obſtruction in paſſing the Trent, from the army of king John; from which he was relieved by the death of that prince at Newark, 19th October 1216. A.D. 1216.

[212] Rymer Fœd. tom. 2. p. 217.

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

History of Religion in Great Britain, from the landing of William duke of Normandy, A. D. 1066, to the death of king John, A. D. 1216.

SECTION I.

History of Religion, from A. D. 1066, to A. D. 1100.

Cent. XI.

THE religious opinions and practices of the ancient Britons, in the firſt period of this work, and thoſe of the Anglo-Saxons in the beginning of the ſecond, were ſo little known, that it was thought proper to begin the hiſtory of religion in each of theſe periods, with a delineation of—its objects—its principles—its rites—its miniſters—its temples, and other circumſtances [1].

All the people of Britain in this period were Chriſtians.

[1] See b. 1. ch. 2. ſect. 1. b. 2. ch. 2. ſect. 1.

But

Cent. XI. But as the Normans, Engliſh, and all the other nations of Britain, had embraced the Chriſtian religion long before the beginning of this period, nothing of that kind is neceſſary in the preſent chapter; in which it will be ſufficient to give a very brief detail of the moſt important eccleſiaſtical tranſactions, in the order of time in which they happened.

Anglo-Saxon prelates deprived, and Normans put in their ſees.

Soon after William the Conqueror was ſeated in the throne of England, he ſeems to have formed the deſign of depriving the moſt eminent of the Engliſh clergy of their dignities in the church, in order to beſtow them on his countrymen, or on others on whoſe attachment he could depend. To accompliſh this deſign with the greater eaſe, he engaged the pope to ſend legates into England, for regulating the affairs of that church, which he pretended were in great diſorder[2]. The papal legates, John and Peter, two cardinal prieſts, and Hermanfrede biſhop of Sion, held a great council of the Engliſh clergy, in the preſence of the king, at Wincheſter, on the octaves of Eaſter, A. D. 1070; in which Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, Agilmare biſhop of Norwich, and ſeveral Engliſh abbots, were depoſed, on various pretences[3]. In another council, convened at Windſor on Whitſunday that ſame year, Agilric biſhop of Chi-

[2] Lanfranci Opera, p. 7. Orderic. Vital. p. 5, 6.

[3] Wilkins Concilia, t. 1. p. 322. W. Malmſ. de Geſtis Pontific. p. 117.

cheſter,

cheſter, and ſome more Engliſh abbots, were deposed: with which ſeverities the biſhops of Lincoln and Durham were ſo much alarmed, that they left their ſees, and retired into Scotland[4]. By theſe depoſitions and reſignations, as well as by the death of ſeveral Engliſh prelates, many of the chief dignities of the church were now vacant, which were all filled with the king's foreign favourites and countrymen. Lanfranc abbot of Caen, and Thomas canon of Bayeux, were made archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, while Walkelin, Walkerine, Herefact, Stigand, Peter, Hermand, and Remigius, all Normans, were placed in the ſees of Winchester, Durham, Norwich, Chicheſter, Lichfield, Saliſbury, and Lincoln[5]. Cent. XI.

Theſe fortunate foreigners, exalted by the fall, and enriched by the ſpoils of the unhappy Engliſh, did not long continue in a ſtate of harmony amongſt themſelves, but a moſt violent quarrel broke out between the two archbiſhops about the primacy. When Thomas, elect of York, came to Canterbury to be conſecrated, Lanfranc, on the day appointed for that ceremony, demanded of him an oath and written profeſſion of canonical obedience to himſelf and ſucceſſors, as primates of all England; which the other abſolutely refuſing, departed in great anger, without being conſecrated. But Lanfranc, having con- Diſpute about the primacy.

4 Simeon Dunelm. col. 202. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 323.
5 Inett's Church Hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 14, 15.

Cent. XI.

vinced the king and his council of the juſtice of his claim. Thomas was commanded to return, and take the oath, and make a profeſſion of obedience to Lanfranc, without mentioning his ſucceſſors; and with this command he thought proper to comply[6].

A.D. 1071. &c. That diſpute determined in favour of Canterbury.

This year the two new archbiſhops of England made a journey to Rome to receive their palls; and when they were there, Thomas complained to the pope of the ſubmiſſion he had been conſtrained by royal authority to make at his conſecration; affirming, that the ſees of York and Canterbury were of equal dignity. On the other hand, Lanfranc produced various evidences of the ſuperiority of his ſee. But the holy father, unwilling to offend either of the prelates, or diſoblige the king of England, declined to judge in that matter, and declared, that it ought to be determined by an Engliſh ſynod[7]. Accordingly two great councils were held, one at Eaſter, and the other at Whitſuntide, A. D. 1072, in which this important queſtion of the primacy was debated with great warmth, in the preſence of the king, queen, and all the court; and at length determined in favour of Canterbury, to the great mortification of the clerical pride of the one prelate, and exultation of the other[8].

[6] W. Malmſ. p. 117. [7] Id. ibid.
[8] W. Malmſ. p. 117. Lanfran. Opera, p. 301. Wilkin. Concil. 1. p. 327.

After

After this diſpute was determined, Lanfranc preſided in ſeveral councils of the clergy of both provinces, in which many eccleſiaſtical canons were made, though few of them are entitled to the attention of poſterity. By one of theſe councils very ſevere penances were preſcribed to thoſe who had killed or wounded any perſon in the battle of Haſtings, commonly called *the great battle*, whether they had fought for or againſt the duke of Normandy. The archers who could not know how many men they had killed or wounded, were to do penance for three lents. All theſe penances might be redeemed by money, or by building and endowing churches; to promote which was probably the intention of the council in theſe tyrannical impoſitions[9]. By the eighth canon of a council held at London, A. D. 1075, it is decreed, "That the bones of "dead animals ſhall not be hung up, to drive "away the peſtilence from cattle; and that ſor- "cery, ſooth-ſayings, divinations, and ſuch "works of the devil, ſhall not be practiſed[10]." The celibacy of the clergy had been enjoined by a thouſand canons, but as yet without a full effect. So difficult is it for the laws of men to overcome the laws of nature! By one of the canons of an Engliſh council, held at Wincheſter A. D. 1076, the ſecular clergy who had wives, are allowed to keep them; which is a ſufficient

Cent. XI. 1075, &c. Several councils held.

9 Johnſon's Eccleſiaſtical Canons, vol. 2. A. D. 1072.
10 Id. ibid. A. D. 1076. Spelman Concil. l. 2. p. 7.

Cent. XI.

proof that they formed a very powerful party: but thoſe who had not wives, are forbidden to marry; and biſhops are prohibited for the future to ordain any man who had a wife [11].

Extravagant claims of pope Gregory VII. rejected.

Pope Alexander II. having died, April 20th, A. D. 1073, he was immediately ſucceeded by the famous Hildebrand, archdeacon of Rome, who aſſumed the name of Gregory VII. and became the moſt turbulent and aſpiring pontiff that had ever filled St. Peter's chair. So boundleſs was the ambition of this haughty prieſt, that he claimed the ſupreme dominion of the whole world, and attempted to bring all emperors, kings, and princes, under ſubjection to his authority [12]. In proſecution of thoſe inſolent pretenſions, he diſpatched his legate Hubert into England, to aſſert his title to that kingdom, and demand an oath of fealty from king William, together with the immediate payment of all the arrears of Peter-pence, which he affected to call a tribute. But William (though he had always profeſſed great veneration for the biſhops of Rome, by whom he had been countenanced in his attempt on England) rejected the demand of homage with becoming indignation, and only promiſed to ſend Peter-pence as a free gift, in imitation of his predeceſſors [13]. Still further to mortify the pride and reſiſt the pretenſions of the

[11] Spelman Concil. l. 2. p. 13.
[12] Du Pin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. 11. c. 5. p. 33, &c.
[13] Epiſt. Wilhelm. Opera Lanfran. p. 304.

pope,

pope, he would not permit Lanfranc to leave the kingdom, though that pontiff had ſent him ſeveral letters commanding him to come to Rome [14]. Theſe affronts wrought up the rage of Gregory to ſo high a pitch, that, in a letter to his legate Hubert, A. D. 1078, he gave William the moſt opprobrious names, and threatened to make him feel the reſentment of St. Peter [15]. But St. Peter was either not ſo vindictive as his ſucceſſor Gregory, or king William was without the reach of his reſentment. Cent. XI.

A conſiderable change was introduced into the creed of the church of England under the primacy, and chiefly by the means, of archbiſhop Lanfranc. The preſent doctrine of the church of Rome concerning the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, called *tranſubſtantiation*, was little known, and leſs regarded, in this iſland before the Norman conqueſt [16]. But Lanfranc was one of the moſt zealous champions for that doctrine, of the age in which he flouriſhed, and diſputed, wrote, and preached in its defence, both before and after his elevation to the ſee of Canterbury [17]. This elevation, however, it is highly probable, gave additional weight to his arguments, and enabled him to make many proſelytes. Change in the creed of the church of England.

[14] Greg. Epiſt. l. 9. Ep. 20. Concil. l. 10. col. 291.
[15] Id. ibid. [16] See vol. 3. p. 286.
[17] Du Pin Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. 11. c. 3. p. 3.

Cent. XI.

Changes in the polity of the church of England.

William the Conqueror exerciſed his ſupremacy over the church of England with a high hand, and made ſome important changes both in the ſtate of its revenues and of its polity. Finding the Engliſh clergy and monaſteries poſſeſſed of far too great a proportion of the riches of the kingdom, he ſtript them of many of their eſtates by various means, and ſubjected thoſe they ſtill retained to military ſervices and other feudal preſtations [18]: a reaſonable regulation, that thoſe who enjoyed ſo large a ſhare of the wealth, ſhould contribute in the ſame proportion with others to the defence and ſupport of the ſtate. So ſtrict an eye did he keep over the clergy in the exerciſe of diſcipline, and government of the church, that he did not allow any of them—to go out of the kingdom without his leave,—to acknowledge any pope without his direction,—to publiſh any letters from Rome, till he had ſeen and approved them,—to hold any councils, or to make any canons, without his conſent,—or to pronounce a ſentence of excommunication on any of his nobles, without his permiſſion [19]. But the moſt conſiderable change that this prince made in the conſtitution of the church of England, was towards the concluſion of his reign, when he ſeparated the eccleſiaſtical from the civil courts, which in the Anglo-Saxon

[18] M. Paris, p. 4. Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 70, 71.
[19] Eadmer. Hiſt. p. 6. Seldeni Specilegium, p. 164.

times

times had been united[20]: a change that was attended with very important conſequences both to church and ſtate. Cent. XI.

Lanfranc archbiſhop of Canterbury died May 28th, A. D. 1089, having ſurvived his royal friend and patron, William the Conqueror, about one year and eight months[21]. This prelate is celebrated by our ancient hiſtorians for his wiſdom, learning, munificence, and other virtues. His charity in particular is ſaid to have been ſo great, that he beſtowed in that way no leſs than five hundred pounds a year[22]: a prodigious ſum in thoſe times! equal in weight to one thouſand five hundred pounds of our money, and in value to at leaſt ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds. This is a ſufficient proof of the great revenues of the ſee of Canterbury in that period, as well as of the great generoſity of this prelate. 1089. Death and character of archbiſhop Lanfranc.

After the death of Lanfranc, William Rufus, then king of England, was in no haſte to give him a ſucceſſor, but kept all the poſſeſſions of the archbiſhopric in his own hands, almoſt five years[23]. In this interval the biſhops and clergy tried various methods to prevail upon the king to appoint a primate, but in vain. At one time, when they preſented a petition, that he would give them leave to ſend a form of prayer to be uſed in all the churches of England,—"That 1093. After a long vacancy Anſelm is made archbiſhop of Canterbury.

[20] Seldeni Specilegium, p. 167.
[21] J. Brompt. col. 956.
[22] Gervas, Act. Pontific. col. 1655. W. Malmſ. p. 118.
[23] Eadmer. Hiſt. p. 14.

Cent. XI. "God would move the heart of the king to "chuſe an archbiſhop;" he returned this careleſs anſwer,—"You may pray as you pleaſe; I "will do as I pleaſe[24]." At length, however, being ſeized with a ſevere ſickneſs, which threatened his life, he was prevailed upon to fill up the vacant ſees of Lincoln and Canterbury, by nominating Robert Bloet, his chancellor, to the firſt, and Anſelm, abbot of Beck in Normandy (who was then at court), to the laſt. Anſelm at firſt diſcovered great reluctance to accept of this high dignity, dreading the fierce rapacious temper of the king, to which he was no ſtranger. "The plough (ſaid he) of the "church of England ſhould be drawn by two "oxen, of equal ſtrength, the king, and the "archbiſhop of Canterbury; but if you yoke "me, who am a weak old ſheep, with this king, "who is a mad young bull, the plough will not "go ſtraight[25]." But as men's refuſals of places "of power and wealth are ſeldom very obſtinate, thoſe of Anſelm were overcome at laſt, and he condeſcended to mount the archiepiſcopal throne, December 4th, A. D. 1093, having done homage to the king for the temporalties, and received inveſtiture by the paſtoral ſtaff and ring, September 25th[26].

Breach between the

Anſelm's apprehenſions of having quarrels with the king were not ill founded; but theſe quar-

[24] W. Malmſ. p. 124. col. 1. [25] Id. ibid.
[26] Id. p. 125. col. 1. Eadmer, p. 16, 17, 18.

rels

rels were owing to his own obſtinate and preſumptuous bigotry. In a few weeks after his conſecration, he waited on the king at Haſtings; but paid his court ſo ill,—by declining to make him ſuch a preſent as was expected,—by preſſing him too earneſtly to call a council of the clergy, and to fill up the vacant abbeys,—and by reproving him and his courtiers too freely for their long hair, their gaudy dreſs, and effeminate manners, that William could not refrain from expreſſing his diſſatisfaction in very ſtrong terms[27]. At their next meeting, after the king's return from Normandy, A. D. 1094, the breach between them became ſtill wider. The Chriſtian world had long been divided between the two contending popes, Urban and Clement; but the kingdom of England had not as yet acknowledged either the one or the other. Anſelm had ſubmitted to Urban before his promotion to the primacy, and now petitioned the king for leave to go to Rome and receive his pall from that pontiff. William was enraged beyond meaſure at this petition, which he declared was directly contrary to that obedience which the archbiſhop had ſworn in his oath of fealty, as well as to the laws of England. At length, after much angry altercation, this diſpute was referred to a great council of the nobility and prelates, which met at Rockingham, March 11th, A. D. 1095[28].

Cent. XI. king and the primate.

27 Eadmer, p. 23, 24. Anglia Sacra, l. 1. p. 164.

28 Eadmer, p. 26.

To

Cent. XI. To this council, on the firſt day of their meeting, Anſelm made a long harangue, in which, amongſt other things, the good prelate told them, "That he would much rather have been "burnt alive than have been made an arch-"biſhop;" and concluded with propoſing this queſtion as the ſubject of their deliberation,—"Whether his going to Rome to receive his pall "from pope Urban, was contrary to his oath of "fealty, and the laws of England?" The council then adjourned, becauſe it was Sunday; and having met again on Monday, after long deliberation, ſent this anſwer to the archbiſhop by the biſhops, "that unleſs he yielded obedience "to the king, and retracted his ſubmiſſion to "pope Urban, they would not acknowledge or "obey him as their primate." On hearing this ſentence, the archbiſhop lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and with great ſolemnity appealed to St. Peter, whoſe vicar he declared he was determined to obey, rather than the king; and, upon the biſhops declining to report his words, he went boldly into the council, and pronounced them before the king and his nobility. The debates were then renewed with greater warmth than ever, and laſted all day; but towards evening the former ſentence was confirmed, and intimated to the primate; who begged to be allowed till next morning to deliberate upon his anſwer. The king and council were now in hopes that the archbiſhop would reſign his ſee, which was what they moſt ardently deſired,

as

as the only means of reſtoring the peace of the kingdom, which had been much diſturbed by this diſpute. But if Anſelm had an averſion to accept of the archbiſhopric, he diſcovered a much greater averſion to reſign it. For next morning he both adhered to his former anſwer, and declared his reſolution never to reſign his ſee. When things were brought to this extremity, ſome of the nobility, who reſpected the ſacerdotal character, and dreaded that the paſſionate ſpirit of William would prompt him to ſome act of violence, propoſed a truce till the octaves of Eaſter; which was accepted by both parties [29]. Cent. XI.

In this interval, William, deſpairing to overcome the obſtinacy of the archbiſhop by violence, had recourſe to artifice, and privately ſent two of his chaplains to Rome, to make an offer to Urban, to acknowledge him as pope if he would conſent to the depoſition of Anſelm, and ſend a pall to the king, to be beſtowed on whom he pleaſed. Urban, tranſported with joy at the acceſſion of ſo powerful a prince, and ſo great a kingdom to his party, promiſed every thing, and ſent Walter biſhop of Alba his legate into England with a pall. The legate paſſed through Canterbury, without ſeeing the archbiſhop; and arriving at court, prevailed upon the king to iſſue a proclamation, commanding all his ſubjects to acknowledge Urban II. as lawful pope [30]. But when the king, having performed all his The king deceived by the pope.

[29] Eadmer, p. 31. [30] W. Malmſ. de Geſt. Pontific. p. 125.

promiſes,

Cent. XI. promiſes, began to ſpeak of proceeding to the depoſition of the archbiſhop, and demanded the pall, that he might give it to the prelate who ſhould be choſen in his room, the legate changed his tone, and plainly declared, that the pope would not conſent to the depoſition of ſo great a ſaint, and ſo dutiful a ſon of the church of Rome; and that he had received orders to deliver the pall to Anſelm; which he accordingly performed with great pomp in the cathedral of Canterbury [31]. It is eaſy to imagine how much a prince of William's haughty and paſſionate temper was enraged at this perfidious conduct of the court of Rome; but as he was engaged in an expedition into Normandy, he had not leiſure to give vent to his reſentment.

1097, Anſelm leaves England. Soon after the king's return from Normandy, the quarrel between him and the archbiſhop was revived, by that prelate's frequent and importunate applications for the royal permiſſion to viſit Rome, for the good of his ſoul, and the benefit of the church. At length the king (wearied out with theſe inceſſant ſolicitations, and having in vain tried every method to diſſuade the primate from perſiſting in his deſign), at the meeting of the great council in October A.D. 1097, commanded him to leave the kingdom in eleven days, without carrying any of his effects with him; and declared, at the ſame time, that he

[31] W. Malmſ. de Geſt. Pontific. p. 126. col. 1.

ſhould

Cent. XI.

ſhould never be permitted to return [32]. Anſelm had no ſooner extorted this paſſionate permiſſion to depart the kingdom, than he haſtened to Canterbury; where having diveſted himſelf of his archiepiſcopal robes, and aſſumed the garb of a pilgrim, he ſet out on his journey. After he had waited for a favourable wind about fifteen days at Dover, (where his baggage was ſtrictly ſearched by the king's officers,) he ſailed for Whitſande, and proceeded from thence to Lyons before he made any conſiderable ſtop [33]. Here he wrote a letter to the pope, giving an account of his grievances in England, and of his departure from it, and deſiring the aſſiſtance and direction of his holineſs; hinting, that ſince he had little proſpect of doing any good in a country where juſtice and religion were ſo much deſpiſed by perſons of all ranks, it would be right to allow him to reſign his ſee [34]. The king of England had, in the mean time, ſeized all the eſtates and revenues of Canterbury into his own hands, and declared all the acts of Anſelm to be null and void [35].

1098. Anſelm's reception at Rome, and his tranſactions there.

As ſoon as the archbiſhop received an anſwer to his letter, with an invitation from the pope to come to Rome, he ſet forward on his journey, on the Tueſday before Palm-Sunday, A. D. 1098, attended only by two faithful friends, Baldwin his ſteward, and Eadmer the hiſtorian,

[32] Eadmer, p. 37, 38, 39, 40. Diceto apud X Script. col. 495.
[33] Id. ibid. [34] Id. p. 43. [35] Id. p. 41.

his

Cent. XI. his secretary. They were obliged to travel in disguise, and under borrowed names, to avoid the ambuscades that were laid for them by Clement the antipope, and by several companies of banditti, who, having heard that the archbishop of Canterbury was on his way to Rome with great treasures, were on the watch to intercept him [36]. At length, after going through much fatigue, and no little danger, they arrived at Rome; and met with the kindest reception from the pope, who lodged them in his own palace. Our monkish historians give the most pompous accounts of the extraordinary honours that were paid to Anselm by the pope, the duke of Apulia, the nobility, clergy, and people of Rome, on this occasion. His holiness made a long speech to him before his whole court, in which he loaded him with praises, called him the pope of another world, and commanded all the English who should come to Rome to kiss his toe [37]. He further promised to support him with all his power in his disputes with the king of England; and wrote a letter to that prince, commanding him to restore all that he had taken from the archbishop [38]. Such was the high tone assumed by the popes of those times in their letters to the greatest kings. Anselm assisted at the council held by the pope at Bari, in the third week after Easter,

[36] Eadmer, p. 44.
[37] J. Sarisburiens. Vita Anselmi, in Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 166. W. Malms. p. 127.
[38] Eadmer, p. 45.

and

and acquired great honour by a ſpeech he made in it, againſt the hereſy of the Greek church about the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. The holy father, in particular (who had been much puzzled in the courſe of the debate), was ſo much charmed with this ſpeech, that at the concluſion of it he cried out, "Bleſſed be thy heart "and thy ſenſes, O Anſelm! bleſſed be thy "mouth, and the ſpeeches of thy mouth [39]." The archbiſhop was preſent in another papal council held at Rome towards the end of this year, in which it was declared, that the king of England deſerved excommunication for his treatment of Anſelm; but at the requeſt of that prelate, the execution of that ſentence was poſtponed [40]. At this council the famous canon againſt lay-inveſtitures was confirmed, denouncing excommunication againſt all lay-men who preſumed to grant inveſtitures of any eccleſiaſtical benefices, and againſt all clergymen who accepted of ſuch inveſtitures, or did homage to temporal princes [41]: a canon that Anſelm remembered too well for his own peace, and for the peace of England. The reaſon aſſigned for this canon by the pope, as related by one who was preſent in the council, and heard his ſpeech, is horrid and impious in the higheſt degree. "It is execrable," ſaid his holineſs, "to ſee thoſe hands which create "God, the creator of all things (a power never Cent. XI.

39 Eadmer, p. 49. 40 Id. p. 50.

41 Anglia Sacra, p. 167. Eadmer, p. 53.

"granted

Cent. XI.

granted to angels), and offer him in ſacrifice to the Father for the redemption of the whole world, put between the hands of a prince, ſtained with blood, and polluted day and night with obſcene contacts. To which all the fathers of the council cried, Amen! Amen! At theſe tranſactions (ſays Eadmerus) I was preſent, and all theſe things I ſaw and heard [42]."

King's anſwer to a letter from the pope.

The meſſenger who had been ſent into England with a letter from the pope to the king, in favour of Anſelm, returned about the end of this year, with very unwelcome news. He told his holineſs, that it was with much difficulty the king was perſuaded to receive and read his letter; and that when he was informed that the bearer of it was a ſervant of Anſelm, he ſwore by the image of Chriſt at Lucca (his uſual oath), that if he did not leave England immediately, he would pull out his eyes; which made him retire, without waiting for an anſwer. Soon after, one William arrived, with the following ſhort and peremptory anſwer to the pope's letter: "I am much ſurpriſed how it came into your head to intercede for the reſtoration of Anſelm. Before he left my kingdom, I warned him that I would ſeize all the revenues of his ſee as ſoon as he departed. I have done what I threatened, and what I had a right to do; and you are in the wrong to blame me [43]." Anſelm, on ſeeing

[42] Eadmer, p. 53.

[43] Id. p. 51.

this laconic epiſtle, immediately deſpaired of his reſtoration during the reign of William, and retired to Lyons; where he lived in exile, till after the death of that prince, which happened Auguſt 2d, A. D. 1100[44]. Cent. XI.

THE eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Scotland is very imperfect in this period. Malcolm Canmore, who was king of Scotland at the conqueſt, and for twenty-ſeven years after, was a great benefactor to the church. By the advice and at the inſtigation of his moſt excellent queen, St. Margaret, he built the abbey-churches of Durham and Dunfermline, and erected the biſhoprics of Murray and Caithneſs[45]. Malcolm, it is alſo ſaid, divided his dominions into ſix dioceſes, and aſſigned one of theſe to each of his ſix biſhops; which were thoſe of St. Andrew's, Glaſgow, Withorn, Murthlack, Murray, and Caithneſs[46]. Our Scotch hiſtorians are probably miſtaken when they affirm, that Turgot prior of Durham was advanced to the ſee of St. Andrew's in the reign of king Malcolm; and that he was even ſucceeded by Godericus before the end of that reign. For the teſtimony of Simeon of Durham, who was his countryman and his contemporary, is more worthy of credit, when he relates, that Turgot was recommended to Alexander king of Scotland by Henry I. and elected Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Scotland.

44 Eadmer, p. 54.
45 Buchan. Hiſt. l. 7. p. 119.
46 Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 29.

Cent. XI. biſhop of St. Andrew's in the eighth year of Ralph biſhop of Durham, viz. A. D. 1107[47]. It appears alſo from the teſtimony of an ancient Engliſh hiſtorian, that Feredoch was biſhop of St. Andrew's towards the end of king Malcolm's reign, and probably continued in that ſtation to the reign of king Alexander[48]. Though it is highly probable that ſeveral national councils were held in Scotland in this period, no veſtiges of any of them are now remaining.

SECTION II.

Hiſtory of Religion in Britain, from the acceſſion of Henry I. A. D. 1100, *to the acceſſion of Henry* II. A. D. 1154.

Cent. XII. A. D. 1100. Anſelm recalled by Henry I.

HENRY I. the youngeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, having ſupplanted his elder brother Robert in the throne of England, laboured with great earneſtneſs to gain the favour of all who could either ſupport or diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the prize he had obtained, and amongſt others of the pope and court of Rome. With this view he immediately recalled the great favourite and champion of that court, Anſelm archbiſhop of Canterbury, from his exile; who

[47] Simeon Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 207. Anglia Sacra. l. 1. p. 707.

[48] Th. Stubbs, apud X Script. col. 1709.

landed

landed at Dover, September 23d, A.D. 1100[1]. Cent. XII.
A few days after, he was received at Saliſbury by the king, with every poſſible mark of affection and reſpect; and that prince even condeſcended to make an apology to him for being crowned by another prelate before his arrival[2].

But this cordiality between the king and the primate was not of long continuance. For as ſoon as Anſelm was deſired to do homage to the king for the temporalities of his ſee, he returned a flat refuſal, and produced the canon of the late council of Rome in vindication of his conduct; declaring, that if the king inſiſted on his pretenſions to the homage of the clergy, he could keep no communion with him, and would immediately leave the kingdom[3]. This threw Henry into great perplexity. On the one hand he was very unwilling to reſign ſo bright a jewel of his crown, as the right of beſtowing eccleſiaſtical benefices, and of receiving the homage of his prelates; and, on the other hand, he dreaded the departure of the primate, who would join the party of his brother Robert, now returned to Normandy, and preparing to aſſert his right to the throne of England. In this diſtreſs the king propoſed, or rather begged a truce, till both parties could ſend ambaſſadors to the pope, to know his final determination; to which Anſelm, at the earneſt intreaty of the nobility, at laſt agreed[4]. Breach between the king and Anſelm.

[1] Eadmer, p. 56. [2] Id. ibid. [3] Id. ibid. [4] Id. ibid.

Cent. XII.

Anſelm performs ſome important ſervices to the king.

In the time of this truce, Anſelm performed ſeveral important ſervices for king Henry. He preſided in a council of the Engliſh clergy, in which, after a very ſolemn inveſtigation, it was declared, that the princeſs Matilda (daughter of Malcolm Canmore king of Scotland), who had been educated in a nunnery, and had ſometimes worn a veil, was at liberty to marry: and he ſoon after celebrated the king's marriage with that princeſs, and placed the crown on her head [5]. When the kingdom was invaded by Robert duke of Normandy, in July A. D. 1101, Anſelm contributed more than any man, by his example, his exhortations, and his authority, to keep the nobility ſteady in their attachment to king Henry, and thereby preſerved him upon the throne [6]. To engage the primate to perform theſe ſervices, we are aſſured by Eadmerus, his friend and ſecretary, that the king ſolemnly promiſed to govern his kingdom by his advice, and ſubmit in all things to the will of the pope [7].

Extravagant letter of the pope about inveſtitures.

If the king made ſuch promiſes in the time of danger, which is not improbable, he did not think fit to keep them when that danger was at an end. Soon after the pacification with his brother Robert, which ſecured him in the poſſeſſion of the crown of England, his meſſengers arrived from Rome with letters from the pope, in which his holineſs aſſerted, in the ſtrongeſt terms,

5 Eadmer, p. 57, 58.
6 See chap. 1. p. 58.
7 Eadmer, p. 59. Anglia Sacra, t. 2. p. 172.

—That

—That the church, and all its revenues, belonged entirely to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors; and that emperors, kings, and princes, had no right to give the inveſtiture of benefices to the clergy, or to demand homage from them. This he endeavoured to prove by ſeveral texts of ſcripture, moſt groſsly miſapplied, and by other arguments, which are either blaſphemy or nonſenſe [8]. Amongſt other things of the like kind, "—How abominable is it (ſaid he) for a ſon "to beget his father, and a man to create his "God? and are not prieſts your fathers and "your Gods [9]?" Cent. XII.

Henry ſeems rather to have been irritated than convinced by this curious piece of papal reaſoning. For, the firſt time the primate appeared at court, he required him in a peremptory tone to do homage to him for the revenues of his ſee, and to conſecrate certain biſhops and abbots, according to ancient cuſtom, or depart the kingdom; adding,—"I will ſuffer no ſubject to live "in my dominions who refuſes to do me ho-"mage [10]." The archbiſhop boldly anſwered,—"I am prohibited, by the canons of the council "of Rome, to do what you require.—I will not "depart the kingdom, but ſtay in my province, "and perform my duty; and let me ſee who "dares to do me any injury:" and immediately left the court, and returned to Canterbury [11]. Quarrel between the king and Anſelm.

[8] Eadmer, p. 60, 61. [9] Id. p. 61. [10] Id. ibid.
[11] Id. p. 62. W. Malmſ. p. 128.

Cent. XII.

Council of Winchester. Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome.

Not long after, the king convened a great council at Wincheſter, to which he ſummoned the primate; who attended. In this council it was at length agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, to declare to the pope, in the name of the king and nobility of England, — "That if "he perſiſted to deny the king's right to inveſti- "tures and homage, they would drive Anſelm "out of the kingdom, withdraw their ſubjection "to the ſee of Rome, and withhold their uſual "payments[12]." Gerard archbiſhop of York, Herbert biſhop of Norwich, and Robert biſhop of Cheſter, perſons of eminent abilities, as well as rank, were choſen ambaſſadors to carry this unwelcome meſſage, and manage this difficult negotiation. Anſelm, by permiſſion, ſent alſo two of his friends, Baldwin and Alexander, to take care of his concerns[13].

1102. Duplicity of the pope. Other ambaſſadors ſent to Rome.

When theſe ambaſſadors arrived at Rome, the holy father was thrown into no ſmall perplexity. On the one hand, he was unwilling to provoke the king and people of England too far; and, on the other, he was ſtill more unwilling to relinquiſh his own pretenſions, or abandon ſo good a friend as Anſelm. But he delivered himſelf from this difficulty by his cunning, at the expence of his veracity. To the king's ambaſſadors he made the moſt ſolemn promiſes in private, that he would wink at their maſter's giving inveſtitures and receiving ho-

[12] Eadmer, p. 62. [13] Id. ibid.

mage;

mage; and that though he might threaten, he would never inflict any cenſures upon him on that account; but that he could not in prudence make ſuch promiſes in public, or in writing, leſt other princes ſhould claim the ſame indulgence. To the primate's meſſengers he ſpoke a very different language; and gave them a letter to their maſter, exhorting him to adhere ſteadily to the canons againſt inveſtiture and homage, and promiſing to ſupport him with all his power. When the ambaſſadors of both parties returned to England, a great council was called at London, A. D. 1102, to receive their report. But how great was the ſurpriſe of the king and council, when the ambaſſadors gave contradictory reports? the three prelates affirming in the ſtrongeſt terms, that the pope had promiſed to diſpenſe with the execution of the canons againſt lay-inveſtitures and homage; and the two monks affirming the direct contrary, and producing his holineſs's letters in confirmation of their teſtimony. This occaſioned very violent debates, and involved the matter in much uncertainty; the king, the biſhops, and nobility, giving moſt credit to the report of the prelates, and Anſelm and his friends to that of his meſſengers; while both parties ſuſpected the duplicity of the pope [14]. In the end, the primate propoſed to ſend other ambaſſadors to Rome to diſcover the real ſentiments of the pope, and in the mean time pro- Cent. XII.

[14] Eadmer, p. 63—66.

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miſed to keep communion with thoſe prelates who had received inveſtiture from the king by the paſtoral ſtaff and ring; and his propoſal was accepted [15].

Council at W. ſtminſter.

While the controverſy about inveſtitures was at a ſtand, Anſelm, with the king's conſent, held a great council of the clergy at Weſtminſter; in which ſeveral abbots were depoſed for ſimony, and many canons were made. By one of theſe canons the married clergy were commanded to put away their wives; which was proceeding a ſtep farther than Lanfranc had done. By another canon it is decreed, that the ſons of prieſts ſhould not be heirs to their fathers' churches. By a third, marriage is prohibited to thoſe who are within the ſeventh degree of kindred: — a vexatious law, that brought great power and wealth to the church, and great inconveniencies on the ſtate. The other canons of this council have nothing in them very remarkable, except the twenty-ſixth, which forbids the worſhip of fountains; which ſeems to have been a relict of Druidical ſuperſtition [16].

1103, Anſelm goes to Rome at the king's deſire.

The king had an interview with the archbiſhop at Canterbury about Mid-Lent, A. D. 1103, in which he laboured, both by threats and promiſes, to bring him to do homage for the temporalities of his ſee. But all in vain. That prelate replied, that his meſſengers were now

[15] Eadmer, p. 63—66.
[16] Id, p. 68. Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 23.

returned

returned from Rome, and had brought letters from the pope, which he had not yet opened, but declared that he was willing to be governed entirely by their contents. The king, knowing, or ſuſpecting, what theſe were, anſwered in a violent paſſion,—"What have I to do with the "pope, or his letters? The prerogatives of my "predeceſſors belong to me; and whoever at- "tempts to deprive me of them, ſhall feel the "weight of my indignation." To which the primate calmly replied,—"I am determined to "die, rather than violate the canons of the "church without the commands of the pope [17]." Henry, obſerving that the firmneſs of the archbiſhop was not to be ſhaken by threatenings, changed his tone, and intreated that prelate to go to Rome, and endeavour to procure what others had not been able to obtain, "that I may "be allowed to enjoy the prerogatives of my "predeceſſors [18]." Anſelm deſired that this might be delayed till Eaſter, that the ſentiments of the biſhops and nobility might then be taken. Accordingly, when the great council met, as uſual, at that feſtival, all the members joined with the king, and intreated the archbiſhop to undertake that journey: to which he conſented, and ſet out without delay, April 29th, A. D. 1103 [19]. Cent. XII.

When Anſelm arrived at the abbey of Becc in Normandy, where he had formerly been abbot, Contents of the pope's letters to Anſelm.

[17] Eadmer, p. 70. [18] Id. ibid. [19] Id. ibid.

he

Cent. XII. he opened the pope's letters (which, for ſeveral prudential reaſons, he had not done before), and found that they contained—the higheſt expreſſions of approbation of his own conduct,—the moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, that the report of the three Engliſh prelates who had lately been at Rome, was entirely falſe; for which he excommunicated them as impudent notorious liars. The pope further declared in theſe letters, that he was fully determined to ſee the canons againſt lay-inveſtitures ſtrictly executed. "For if we "allow (ſays he) kings and emperors to give a "biſhop the ſtaff, the ſign of his paſtoral of-"fice, and the ring, the ſign of his faith, the "church, and even Chriſtianity itſelf, will be "immediately deſtroyed[20]." Though, after reading theſe letters, Anſelm could have no hopes of ſucceſs in his embaſſy, which it is probable he did not deſire, he ſet out from Becc, in Auguſt, and ſoon after arrived at Rome.

The king ſends an agent to Rome.

When the king deſired Anſelm to undertake this journey, he was far from expecting that he would be a zealous advocate in his cauſe; and therefore he did not depend upon him, but ſent William Warelwaſt, an able, active, and faithful ſervant to the court of Rome, well furniſhed with certain arguments, that were likely to be moſt convincing in that moſt corrupt and venal court. William travelled with ſo much expedition, that he reached the end of his journey

[20] Eadmer, p. 71.

ſome

ſome weeks before the archbiſhop; and was ſo active and liberal, that he gained many friends, and began to entertain great hopes of ſucceſs in his negotiation. Cent. XII.

Decree of the conſiſtory of Rome againſt the king's right of granting inveſtitures.

A few days after the arrival of Anſelm, the pope called a conſiſtory to examine this cauſe; before which William Warelwaſt made a long harangue, in defence of the right of the king of England to grant inveſtiture to the prelates of his kingdom, and to receive homage from them: nor did he neglect to put the aſſembly in mind of the great munificence of the kings of England to the church of Rome; and to inſinuate, that if a favourable ſentence was not given in this cauſe, that munificence would be withdrawn. Anſelm remained entirely ſilent. When the matter came to be debated, ſeveral members, who had been gained, ſpoke in favour of the king of England's claim, and repreſented the danger of provoking ſo great a prince. To enforce their arguments, Warelwaſt declared, "That he knew his maſter was reſolved to loſe "his kingdom, rather than relinquiſh his right "to grant inveſtitures." This bold declaration had an ill effect, by rouſing the pride and paſſion of the ſovereign pontiff; who ſaid,—"And I "ſwear before God, that pope Paſcal will rather "loſe his life than ſuffer him to enjoy his pre-"tended right[21]." This poſitive declaration put an end to all debate; and a decree was pro-

[21] Eadmer, p. 72, 73.

nounced

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nounced againſt the king's right to grant inveſtitures, and excommunicating all prelates who had received, or ſhould receive them from his hand, until they made ſatisfaction, and were abſolved by their primate [22]. Still further to pleaſe the archbiſhop, the pope granted him a bull, confirming the primacy of England to him and his ſucceſſors in the ſee of Canterbury; and then diſmiſſed him with every mark of affection and eſteem.

Soothing letter from the pope to the king.

The king's agent remained at Rome a few days after the departure of Anſelm, in hopes of gaining ſome advantage in his abſence: but all he could obtain was a ſoothing letter from the pope to Henry, in which he congratulated him on his ſucceſſes in Normandy, and on the birth of his ſon; and aſſured him, that it was out of pure love to his perſon that he had taken the dangerous right of inveſtitures from him, which would certainly have brought the vengeance of heaven upon his head. He further promiſed, that if he would be a very dutiful ſon of the church, and very kind and obedient to the archbiſhop, he would grant him, and his glorious queen, a full pardon of all their ſins, and beſtow many graces on the young prince their ſon [23].

Anſelm remains abroad.

With this curious letter Warelwaſt left Rome, and viſited the archbiſhop of Canterbury at Lyons; to whom he intimated in the king's

[22] Eadmer, p. 72, 73.

[23] Id. p. 74, 75.

name,

name,—"That if he would behave to him as "former archbiſhops of Canterbury had behaved "to his predeceſſors, he might return to Eng- "land." In anſwer to this intimation, Anſelm ſent meſſengers of his own, with a very blunt letter to the king; in which he told him plainly, that he would not do homage to him as former archbiſhops had done to his predeceſſors; and that he would not keep communion with any of thoſe prelates who had received the paſtoral ſtaff and ring from his hands; nor would he come into England on any other terms; proteſting, that all the ſouls that ſhould be loſt by his abſence, ſhould be laid to the king's charge [24]. As ſoon as the king received this letter, he ſeized all the revenues of the ſee of Canterbury; and Anſelm continued at Lyons a year and four months in a ſtate of exile. Cent. XII.

1105. Meeting between the king and Anſelm.

Though Anſelm was very hoſpitably entertained at Lyons by Hugh archbiſhop of that city, he neglected nothing that might contribute to his reſtoration to his own ſee, on his own terms. Having prevailed with the pope to iſſue a ſentence of excommunication againſt the earl of Mellent, king Henry's great favourite, and to promiſe to iſſue a like ſentence againſt the king himſelf in a little time, he left Lyons in May A. D. 1105, and paid a viſit to Adela counteſs of Blois, the king's ſiſter, who was a princeſs of great piety, and one of his greateſt

[24] Eadmer, p. 76.

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admirers. In the courſe of their converſation, the counteſs having aſked him, what was his principal deſign in coming into thoſe parts? he frankly told her, that it was to publiſh a ſentence of excommunication (which he daily expected from Rome) againſt her brother the king of England. The devout Adela was ſo grieved at her brother's damnation (as Eadmer expreſſes it), that ſhe never reſted till ſhe had negotiated a meeting between him and the primate, in order to an accommodation [25].

Ambaſſadors ſent by both to Rome.

When all preliminaries were ſettled, the counteſs conducted Anſelm to the caſtle of L'Aigle in Normandy, and introduced him to the king, July 22d, A. D. 1105; who received him with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of eſteem and friendſhip. After a little converſation, Henry reſtored to the archbiſhop the revenues of his ſee, and alſo gave him leave to return to England, on this ſingle condition,—That he did not refuſe to keep communion with thoſe prelates who had received royal inveſtitures. But with this condition Anſelm declared he could not comply, until he had received directions from the pope, to whom he was determined in all things to yield obedience. It was therefore agreed, that both the king and the primate ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, to receive the directions of the ſovereign pontiff, on all ſubjects in diſpute between them; and that all things ſhould remain quiet till theſe am-

[25] Eadmer, p. 79, 80.

baſſadors returned [26]. After this interview the archbiſhop retired to the abbey of Becc, and Henry embarked for England. Cent. XII.

The king having thus warded off the blow of excommunication, which he really dreaded, was in no haſte in ſending his ambaſſador to Rome; which greatly offended Anſelm, and his friends in England. One of theſe wrote him a letter at this time, in which he acquainted him, that religion was quite ruined by his abſence, that ſodomy and wearing long hair (which that good man ſeems to have regarded as equal crimes) were become very common, and no body had the courage to reprove them [27]. At length, about Chriſtmas A. D. 1105, the king ſent over his former ambaſſador William Warelwaſt, now biſhop-elect of Exeter; who proceeded on his journey to Rome, in company with Baldwin de Torney, ambaſſador from the archbiſhop. While theſe meſſengers were negotiating at the court of Rome, the Engliſh biſhops, foreſeeing the approaching return of their primate, thought fit to ſend him a letter of invitation, containing ſome expreſſions of ſubmiſſion and reſpect [28]. Invitation of the Engliſh biſhops to Anſelm.

The king's agent at Rome acted his part ſo well, that he ſucceeded better in his negotiation than could have been expected. For, on March 23d, A. D. 1106, he obtained letters from the pope, directed to Anſelm, permitting and requiring him to grant abſolution to all the Eng- 1106. Favourable letter from the pope to the king.

[26] Eadmer, p. 79, 80. [27] Id. p. 81. [28] Id. p. 84.

liſh

Cent. XII. liſh biſhops and abbots who had received inveſtiture from, and had done homage to, the king, on their making ſuch ſatisfaction as William and Baldwin would tell him by word of mouth; and then either to conſecrate them himſelf, or by commiſſion. In future, he directed him not to refuſe conſecration to ſuch biſhops and abbots as had done homage to the king, provided they had not received inveſtiture from him. He even commands him to receive into his communion thoſe three prelates who had brought a falſe report from Rome, and to abſolve the king, queen, and nobility of England, from all their ſins. And finally, he adviſes him to behave with great prudence, gentleneſs, and meekneſs to the king and the nobles in time to come[29]. By what means theſe conceſſions were obtained we are not informed. The pope ſeems to have been ſenſible that they were greater than Anſelm expected; for which he made a kind of apology, by telling him, that in order to raiſe people from the ground, it was neceſſary to ſtoop a little.

Anſelm returns to England.

King Henry was ſo heartily tired of his diſputes with the pope and the primate, that he accepted of this compromiſe with pleaſure, and ſent an invitation to Anſelm to return to England. But when that prelate was preparing for his journey, he was ſeized with a lingering illneſs that detained him ſeveral months longer on the continent. At length, however, he arrived

[29] Eadmer, p. 87.

at

at Dover, in Auguſt A. D. 1106; and was received with the higheſt teſtimonies of reſpect and joy by perſons of all ranks [30]. Cent. XII.

The abſence of the king, who was then in Normandy, completing the conqueſt of that country, prevented the full ſettlement of eccleſiaſtical affairs in that year; and, even after his return, it was put off from time to time, till Auguſt 1ſt, A. D. 1107; when a great council of the biſhops, abbots, and nobles, was held in the king's palace at London. In this council the right of the king and of other lay-patrons to give inveſtitures, by the delivery of the paſtoral ſtaff and ring, was debated with great warmth for three days; many of the nobility pleading boldly in defence of their own rights, and of the rights of their ſovereign. But, on the fourth day, the king put an end to this debate, by declaring, that he was determined to adhere to the late compromiſe, and to relinquiſh the ceremony of giving inveſtiture, in order to ſecure the more important right of receiving the homage of the clergy; and a ſolemn act was made agreeable to this declaration, viz. "That for the future, none ſhall be inveſted by the king, or "any lay-patron, in any biſhopric or abbey, "by delivering of a paſtoral ſtaff and ring; and "none who is elected to any prelacy, ſhall be "denied conſecration on account of the homage "that he does to the king [31]."

1107. Diſpute about homage and inveſtitures compromiſed.

[30] Eadmer, p. 89.

[31] Spelman. Concil. t. 2. p. 27. Eadmer, p. 91.

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Several bishops consecrated.

Immediately after the determination of this great controversy about investitures, Anselm consecrated no fewer than five bishops in one day (August 11th), with the assistance of seven of his suffragans [32]. About the same time he received a letter from pope Pascal II. permitting him to dispense with that canon of the church, which prohibited the ordination or promotion of the sons of priests. "Because (says the pope) "the execution of it would be very inconve- "nient in England, where the best and greatest "part of the clergy are of that kind [33]." So long did the English ecclesiastics adhere to the laws of nature, in opposition to the barbarous policy of Rome.

See of Ely erected.

In the end of this, or the beginning of the next year, a new bishopric was erected in the monastery of Ely, with the consent of the king, the pope, the primate, and all parties concerned; and Hervey, who had been expelled by the Welsh from the see of Bangor, was appointed the first bishop of that see [34].

1108. Canons of the council of London against the marriages of the clergy.

Anselm was a violent enemy to the marriage of the clergy, and it was by his influence that the severe canons had been made against it in the council of London, A. D. 1102. But these canons had been ill observed, or rather totally neglected, during the disputes about investitures, and the exile of the archbishop; who procured

[32] Eadmer, p. 92.
[33] Id. p. 91.
[34] Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 616.

another

another council to be held on that ſubject, at London, in Whitſuntide A. D. 1108 [35]. In this council, in which the king and the nobility, as well as the prelates, were preſent, no fewer than ten canons were made to enforce the celibacy and prevent the marriage of the clergy. By theſe canons, all prieſts, even thoſe in the very loweſt orders, are commanded—to put away their wives immediately,—not to ſuffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church,—never to ſee them or ſpeak with them, except in caſes of great neceſſity, and in the preſence of two or three witneſſes.—Thoſe who put away their wives, were to abſtain from ſaying maſs for forty days, and to perform ſuch penances as their biſhops ſhould prescribe; but thoſe unhallowed wretches who refuſed to put away their wives, were inſtantly to be depoſed and excommunicated, and all their goods, together with the perſons and goods of their wives, as in the caſe of adultereſſes, were to be forfeited to the biſhop of the dioceſe [36]. Theſe canons afford a ſufficient proof, that thoſe eccleſiaſtical tyrants found it no eaſy taſk to diſſolve the natural and virtuous affection that ſubſiſted between the clergy of England and their wives in this period. Cent. XII.

Quarrel between Anſelm and the elect of York.

While the rulers of the church of England were laying theſe reſtraints on the moſt innocent paſſions of the inferior clergy, they ſet no bounds

[35] Eadmer, p. 94.

[36] Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 29. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 388.

Cent. XII. to their own ambition, which produced amongſt them many indecent quarrels. One of theſe quarrels happened A. D. 1108, between Anſelm, and Thomas elect of York; who, obſerving the advanced age and increaſing infirmities of the primate, delayed from time to time, under various pretences, to come to Canterbury to receive conſecration; hoping, that after the death of Anſelm, he might obtain it without making the humiliating profeſſion of canonical obedience. But that prelate was too quick-ſighted not to diſcover the ſecret intentions of the elect of York, and too tenacious of the prerogatives of his ſee, not to take the moſt vigorous meaſures to prevent their ſucceſs. With this view he wrote to the pope not to grant Thomas his pall, and to all the biſhops of England, not to aſſiſt at his conſecration, till he had made the uſual profeſſions of obedience; which he was at laſt, after a long and violent ſtruggle, conſtrained to perform [37].

1109. Death and character of Anſelm.

Anſelm, having languiſhed for ſome months, died 20th April, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and the ſixteenth of his primacy. He was a man of piety and learning, according to the mode and meaſure of the age in which he flouriſhed; but by promoting with zeal and obſtinacy the ambitious views of the ſee of Rome, he involved himſelf, as well as his king and country, in many troubles, and ſet an example

[37] Eadmer, p. 97—104.

which was too well imitated by ſome of his ſucceſſors. Cent. XII.

Henry had ſuffered ſo much from the oppoſition of the late primate, that he was in no haſte to give him a ſucceſſor; but kept the ſee of Canterbury vacant no leſs than five years. At length, after a warm conteſt between the monks of the cathedral and the prelates of the province, Radulphus biſhop of Rocheſter was elected primate, 26th April, and enthroned 17th May, A. D. 1114[38]. 1114. Radulphus made archbiſhop.

As all this had been tranſacted without ſo much as conſulting the pope, the meſſengers ſent to Rome by the archbiſhop to ſolicit his pall, were very coldly received, and met with many difficulties; but being powerfully ſupported by abbot Anſelm, nephew of the late primate, and a great favourite of his holineſs, they at laſt ſucceeded; and that abbot was ſent into England, with the pall, and a long letter to the king and biſhops. In this letter many texts of ſcripture are quoted to prove, that no buſineſs of any importance ought to be tranſacted in any nation of Europe without the knowledge and direction of the pope; it alſo contains the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reſentment againſt the king and prelates of England for their late neglect of the holy ſee, with threats of excommunication, if they did not behave in a more dutiful manner in time to come[39]. Henry was much offended with the Inſolent letter from the pope.

[38] Eadmer, p. 115. [39] Id. ibid.

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inſolent ſtrain of this epiſtle; and ſent William biſhop of Exeter to Rome, to expoſtulate with the pope on that and ſome other ſubjects.

Henry nominates a biſhop of St. David's in Wales.

—The people of Wales were about this time ſo much humbled by the ſuperior power of Henry, that the clergy of the church of St. David's applied to that prince to nominate a fit perſon to be biſhop of that ſee; and he named Bernard, chaplain to the queen. That this was a novelty, appears from this circumſtance, that a very violent diſpute aroſe between the king and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, about the place where the biſhop-elect of St. David's ought to be conſecrated, in which the policy of the prince at laſt yielded to the pertinacity of the prelate [40].

1116. Diſpute about the primacy revived.

The diſpute about the obligation of the archbiſhops of York to make a profeſſion of canonical obedience to the archbiſhops of Canterbury at their conſecration, which had ſo often diſturbed the peace of the church of England, was revived at this time by Thurſtan, elect of York, who refuſed to make that profeſſion. After this diſpute had ſubſiſted almoſt a year, it was brought before a great council at Saliſbury, 18th March A. D. 1116; and ſuch was the pride and obſtinacy of Thurſtan, that when the king and council declared againſt him, he choſe to relinquiſh his ſee rather than to ſubmit [41]. It was not long, however, before he repented of this raſh ſtep; and, following the king into Normandy, earneſtly

[40] Eadmer, p. 116.

[41] Wilkin. Concilia, t. 1. p. 393.

ſolicited

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ſolicited to be reſtored to the dignity he had too haſtily reſigned. Meeting with little encouragement from the king, Thurſtan had recourſe to Rome; and, employing thoſe modes of ſolicitation which he knew to be moſt ſucceſsful, he at length obtained a bull from the pope A. D. 1118, reſtoring him to his ſee; and declaring, that his holineſs would hear both parties in the diſpute between Canterbury and York in his own preſence, and determine it according to juſtice[42]. But this bull did not put an end to this controverſy. For the primate ſtill refuſed to conſecrate the elect of York, without a profeſſion of canonical obedience, which he obſtinately refuſed to make[43].

Prevarication of the pope.

On this, Thurſtan petitioned the king for leave to go into France to viſit the pope, who had indicted a general council to meet at Rheims in October A. D. 1119. But Henry, ſuſpecting his intention, obliged him to give a ſolemn promiſe on oath, that he would neither aſk nor accept of conſecration from the pope; and, for the greater ſecurity, he alſo obtained a ſolemn promiſe from the pope, that he would not grant conſecration to Thurſtan. But all theſe oaths and promiſes were moſt ſhamefully violated. For, as ſoon as the elect of York arrived at Rheims, he was conſecrated by his holineſs in the cathedral church of that city. The king of England was ſo much provoked at this baſe

[42] Eadmer, p. 121. [43] W. Malmſ. p. 157.

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tranſaction, that he ſolemnly ſwore he would not ſuffer Thurſtan to enter any of his dominions [44]. In an interview that he had with the pope ſome time after, at Giſors, his holineſs importuned him to permit his friend Thurſtan to return to his ſee, and offered to abſolve him from his oath. The king, after reflecting a little on this propoſal, anſwered, that he could not accept of his abſolution, becauſe ſuch a trifling with oaths and promiſes would deſtroy all faith and confidence among mankind [45].

1120. The pope breaks his promiſe.

At this interview the king obtained a promiſe from the pope, that he would not ſend any legates into England or Normandy without his requiſition; which was no better obſerved than other papal promiſes [46]. For Calixtus, who made this promiſe, having defeated his rival Michael Burdinus the antipope, and taken him priſoner, ſent his legates, under the ſpecious pretence of communicating this joyful news, into all the different nations of Europe, and amongſt others into England, without the leaſt regard to his late engagement. But king Henry was not ſo inattentive to that engagement; for though he received the legate with no little ceremony, and treated him with much reſpect, he told him plainly, that he could not acknowledge him as legate, nor ſuffer him to perform any one act in conſequence of that commiſſion [47].

[44] Eadmer, p. 125. W. Malmſ. p. 157. [45] Eadmer, p. 126.
[46] Id. p. 125. [47] Id. p. 137.

Radul-

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Radulphus, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died 20th October A. D. 1122, in the ninth year of his patriarchate. He is ſaid by a contemporary hiſtorian, who was well acquainted with him, to have been a man of eminent piety and learning, of a generous diſpoſition and affable deportment, but a little too much addicted to jocularity for the dignity of his ſtation [48].

1122. Death and character of Radulphus.

The death of the primate gave riſe, as uſual, to a warm conteſt between the monks of Canterbury and the biſhops of the province, about the choice of a ſucceſſor; in which the biſhops, being ſecretly favoured by the king, at length prevailed, and William Corboyl, prior of Chiche, was elected at Glouceſter on the feaſt of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, A. D. 1123 [49]. Being conſecrated at Canterbury by the biſhops of London and Wincheſter, aſſiſted by the other Engliſh prelates, on the 20th of February, he made a journey to Rome for his pall; which he obtained [50]. In this journey he had alſo in view to obtain a deciſion in favour of his ſee, in the famous diſpute with the archbiſhop of York, which was ſtill depending. But in this he did not ſucceed. For his holineſs was in no haſte to determine a queſtion which gave him ſo much authority over the church of England [51].

William Corboyl made archbiſhop.

One of the moſt ſpecious and ſucceſsful arts employed by the court of Rome to ſubject the

1125. A papal legate holds

[48] W. Malmſ. p. 132.
[49] Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 7.
[50] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1662.
[51] Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 71.

ſeveral

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a council at Weſtminſter.

ſeveral churches of Europe to her dominion, was that of ſending legates into all countries, with commiſſions to hold national councils, in the name and by the authority of the pope. Though every attempt to procure the admiſſion of ſuch papal legates into England had hitherto proved abortive, the policy of Rome was ſtill upon the watch to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity for renewing theſe attempts. Such an opportunity preſented itſelf at this time, when the king of England was engaged in a dangerous war on the continent, and ſtood in need of the favour of the court of Rome; and it was not neglected. For pope Honorius II. granted a commiſſion, 13th April, to John de Crema, a cardinal prieſt, to be his legate in England and Scotland [52]. The legate, having waited on king Henry in Normandy, at length, and with much difficulty, obtained his permiſſion to paſs over into England; where he gratified his pride and avarice without much regard to decency. Amongſt other things, he preſided in a national council at Weſtminſter, 9th September A. D. 1126, in which both the archbiſhops, twenty biſhops, forty abbots, and an innumerable multitude, both of the clergy and people, were preſent [53]. In this council, which was the firſt in which a Roman legate had preſided in England, no fewer than ſeventeen canons were made, or rather promulgated, in the name and by the

[52] Spelman. Concil. t. 2, p. 32, 33.

[53] Id. p. 33.

authority

authority of the pope alone. In theſe canons there is little new or remarkable, except that the celibacy of the clergy is extended to thoſe in the loweſt orders; and they are forbidden to have any women in their houſes, beſides their ſiſters, aunts, or thoſe of whom there could be no ſuſpicion [54]. At the concluſion of the council, the legate ſummoned both the archbiſhops to repair immediately to Rome, to plead the cauſe about the prerogatives of their reſpective ſees, which was depending before the pope. To ſuch a height had the uſurpations of Rome, and the inſolence of the papal legates, arrived at this time. Cent. XII.

In the night after the concluſion of this council, an incident happened, which made a prodigious noiſe, and brought no little ſcandal on the Roman clergy. John de Crema, the pope's legate, who had declaimed, with great warmth, in the council the day before, in honour of immaculate chaſtity, and inveighed with no leſs vehemence againſt the horrid impurity of the married clergy, was catched in bed with a harlot. The detection was ſo undeniable, and ſoon became ſo public, that the legate dared not to ſhow his face; but ſneaked out of England with the greateſt ſecrecy and precipitation [55]. This incident gave much ſatisfaction to the married clergy (who had probably

54 Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 34.

55 Hen. Hent. l. 7. p. 219. R. Hoveden, p. 274. J. Brompt. col. 1015. H. Knyghton, col. 2382. Chron. Hemingford, l. 1. c. 48.

Cent. XII. been the detectors), and rendered the canon of the late council againſt them abortive and contemptible.

1127. Tranſactions of the two archbiſhops at Rome, and a council at Weſtminſter.

The two archbiſhops, in obedience to the citation of the legate, repaired to Rome; where Thurſtan, being the greateſt favourite, obtained a bull exempting him and his ſucceſſors from all ſubjection to the ſee of Canterbury, and placing the two prelates of Canterbury and York on an exact footing of equality[56]. This was not the only diſaſter that befell the archbiſhop of Canterbury when he was at Rome. For he was by ſome means or other prevailed upon to degrade and enſlave himſelf and his ſucceſſors, by accepting a commiſſion to be the pope's legate in England; hoping perhaps by this commiſſion to recover that authority over his rival Thurſtan, that he had loſt by the late bull. Proud of his chains, he convened a national ſynod immediately on his return, to meet at Weſtminſter, 17th May, and preſided in it as the pope's legate. Thurſtan, unwilling to give any marks of ſubjection to William even in this new character, did not attend this council; and his ſuffragan, the biſhop of Durham, alſo ſent an excuſe. The canons of this council ſeem to have been brought from Rome, as well as the authority by which they were promulgated. In them the marriage of the clergy is ſtyled the plague of the church, and all dignitaries are commanded to exert their moſt

[56] Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 407.

zealous

zealous efforts to root it out. The wives of priests and canons were not only to be separated from them, but to be banished out of the parish; and if they ever after conversed with their husbands, they were to be seized by the ministers of the church [57], and subjected to ecclesiastical discipline, or reduced to servitude, at the discretion of the bishop: and if any persons, great or small, attempted to deliver these unhappy victims out of the hands of the ministers of the church, they were to be excommunicated [58]. These canons afford a sufficient proof of the power and tyranny of the court of Rome, from whence they came; and also of the great difficulty of establishing celibacy among the inferior clergy of the church of England; which was far from being accomplished by these canons. Cent. XII.

For this reason the archbishop of Canterbury convened another council, which met at London, on Monday, September 29th, A. D. 1129, and continued to sit till Friday, October 3d. The sole design of this council was, to contrive some more effectual means than had yet been used, to compel the inferior clergy to put away their wives. To accomplish this end, it was decreed, that all priests who were married should put away their wives on or before the feast of St. Andrew (November 30th) next; and that those 1129. Council at London.

[57] These ministers of the church were laymen, and a kind of ecclesiastical sheriffs, who executed the sentences of ecclesiastical courts, as the secular sheriffs executed those of the secular courts.

[58] Wilkin. Concil. t. 1, p. 410. Spelman Concil. t. 2, p. 35, 36.

who

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who did not obey this decree, ſhould be immediately turned out of their churches and houſes, and declared incapable of ever holding any office or benefice in the church[59]. To render this decree ſtill more effectual, the council committed the execution of it to the king. But this turned out to be very ill policy, and diſappointed the whole deſign. For the king, inſtead of compelling the clergy to put away their wives, thought it more for his advantage to impoſe a tax on thoſe who choſe to retain them; which, it is ſaid, brought a great ſum into the royal coffers[60].

1130. Schiſm in the papacy. The ſee of Carliſle founded.

The legantine commiſſion which had been ſo imprudently accepted by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, expired with pope Honorius II. who had granted it, February 14th, A. D. 1130. On the very day of his death, two popes were choſen, one of which aſſumed the name of *Innocent* II. and the other of *Anacletus*. This ſchiſm continued about nine years, but at length terminated in favour of Innocent, who had been acknowledged by the emperor, and the kings of France and England[61]. Though the frequent ſchiſms in the papacy in the middle ages were very fatal to the proſperity and pretenſions of the church of Rome, they were very friendly to the rights of other churches. For while the rival popes were employed in curſing and deſtroying

59 Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 411. 60 Hen. Hunt. l. 7. p. 220.
61 Du Pin. Eccleſ. Hiſt. cent. 12. ch. 3.

one

one another, they had no leiſure to diſturb the peace or invade the rights of the reſt of mankind. During this ſchiſm in particular, the church of England was governed by her own prelates, and enjoyed great tranquillity to the death of Henry I. December 1ſt, A. D. 1135. The moſt remarkable eccleſiaſtical tranſaction that happened in this period was the founding of the biſhopric of Carliſle A. D. 1132, of which Adelwald, the king's confeſſor, was the firſt biſhop[62]. Cent. XII.

It was no ſmall reproach to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the other Engliſh prelates, that they ſo ſhamefully violated their moſt ſolemn oaths to ſupport the ſucceſſion of the empreſs Maud, and ſo tamely ſubmitted to the uſurper Stephen[63]. To this they were induced by the pompous promiſes made by Stephen to the church at his coronation, and ſoon after confirmed in a royal charter[64]. For in thoſe times the advancement of the good of the church, *i. e.* of its power and riches, was eſteemed a ſufficient excuſe for the moſt immoral actions. Nor was pope Innocent II. (the pope acknowledged by England) more ſcrupulous on this occaſion, than the Engliſh prelates. For he ſent Stephen a bull, confirming his election to, or rather his uſurpation of, the crown[65]. 1136. The clergy ſubmit to king Stephen.

[62] Godwin. de Præſul. Carleolenſ.
[63] Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p. 222. col. 1.
[64] W. Malmſ. p. 102. col. 1.

William

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1137. Death and character of archbishop Corboyl.

William Corboyl, archbishop of Canterbury, did not live to see many of the fatal effects of his imprudent compliance with the court of Rome in accepting the legantine commission, nor of the countenance he had given to the usurpation of king Stephen. For he died in the fifteenth year of his pontificate, December 19th, A. D. 1127[66]. He seems to have been a weak man, too easily prevailed upon to forget the dignity of his station and the obligation of his oaths. The archbishopric continued vacant two years and one month, contrary to the solemn promises that had been made by Stephen at his coronation, and in his charter. This prince, after the primate's death, was so mean and imprudent as to solicit the pope to grant a legantine commission to his brother Henry bishop of Winchester; which he obtained. But he was soon convinced that he had no reason to rejoice in this success.

1138. The papal legate holds a council at Westminster. Theobald chosen p. oate.

The schism in the papacy being healed by the death of Anacletus, and the resignation of Victor his successor, A. D. 1138, Innocent II. began to meddle more directly, and in a more magisterial manner, in the affairs of the church of England. For though he had granted the legantine commission to Henry bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, he now suspended that commission, and sent a creature of his own, Albericus bishop of Ostea, as his legate, into England.

[66] Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 7.

This

This bold ſtep was equally diſagreeable to the king and his brother. But they had proceeded too far in their ſubmiſſions to the ſee of Rome, to ſtop ſhort; and therefore, after a little heſitation, Albericus was permitted to execute his commiſſion[67]. In conſequence of this, he preſided in a national ſynod, which he had ſummoned to meet, December 13th, A. D. 1138, at Weſtminſter. In this ſynod ſixteen canons were promulgated by the ſole authority of the holy ſee, without ſo much as mentioning the conſent of the council, though there were ſeventeen biſhops, thirty abbots, and a great multitude of the inferior clergy preſent[68]. At the concluſion of this council, the legate proceeded to a ſtill more daring invaſion of the rights of the crown and church of England, by taking the lead in the choice of an archbiſhop of Canterbury; and by his influence Theobald, abbot of Becc in Normandy, was choſen on the Sunday before Chriſtmas, and conſecrated at Canterbury, by the legate, January 19th, A. D. 1139[69]. This was a cruel diſappointment to the king's brother, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, who had ſet his heart upon the primacy; and ſuſpecting, not without reaſon, that the king had ſecretly contributed to his diſappointment, he began to form ſchemes of revenge againſt his own brother, which he ſoon diſcovered. Cent. XII.

67 Chron. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1344.
68 Id. col. 1347, &c.
69 Id. ibid.

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1139. Quarrel between king Stephen and his brother the biſhop of Winchester.

Albericus the pope's legate, with Theobald the new archbiſhop, departing for Rome about the end of January this year, the biſhop of Winchester reſumed the exerciſe of his legantine commiſſion, and governed the church of England with a high hand. This haughty, ambitious, and vindictive prelate, meditated revenge againſt all who had contributed to his miſſing the primacy, and particularly againſt the king, which he executed on the following occaſion. An invaſion of England by the empreſs Maud, and her natural brother Robert earl of Glouceſter, being daily expected, Stephen thought it neceſſary to ſecure ſuch of the nobility and clergy as he ſuſpected of an intention to abandon him and join his rival. Roger biſhop of Saliſbury had been juſticiary and prime miniſter of Henry I. who had loaded him, and his two nephews, Alexander biſhop of Lincoln, and Nigellus biſhop of Ely, with riches and honours. Theſe prelates had built ſeveral ſtrong and magnificent caſtles, which excited the envy of the nobility as well as the jealouſy of the king; who ſeized the perſons of the biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln, at Oxford, June 26th, and obliged them, with the biſhop of Ely, who was taken at the Devizes, to ſurrender all their caſtles. This tranſaction made a prodigious noiſe. The king's conduct was commended by ſome, and blamed by others; but by none ſo much as his own brother the biſhop of Winchester. That artful prelate thinking this a favourable opportunity of diſplaying his

his own power, and zeal for the immunities of the church, as well as of gratifying his reſentment, did not ſuffer it to eſcape. He repaired to court; commanded rather than petitioned the king to reſtore their caſtles to the three biſhops; and meeting with a denial, as he expected, he called a national council to meet at Wincheſter, Auguſt 28th, and ſummoned the king to appear before it to anſwer for his conduct. This daring inſult on the royal dignity would have been properly reſented by Stephen at another time; but, in his preſent circumſtances, he was obliged to temporiſe. He firſt ſent certain earls to the council, to demand why he had been ſummoned; who received this haughty anſwer from the legate: "That as the king pretended to be a Chriſtian, "he ought not to be ſurpriſed that he was com- "manded by the miniſters of Chriſt to give "them ſatisfaction; eſpecially as he was con- "ſcious of the horrid crime of impriſoning "biſhops, and ſtripping them of their poſſeſ- "ſions; a crime which had never been heard of "before in any Chriſtian age[70]." The legate added, That if the king was not a fool, he would come immediately, and ſubmit to the judgment of the clergy, to whom he owed his crown. Though Stephen was greatly irritated at the report of his commiſſioners, he ſuppreſſed his reſentment, and ſent them back to the council, with

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70 W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 103.

Cent. XII. Alberic de Vere, the moſt eloquent pleader of that age, to defend his cauſe; which was agitated three days ſucceſſively, with incredible warmth on both ſides; and the council broke up at laſt in confuſion, without having come to any deciſion [71].

1141. Diſputes about the election of an archbiſhop of York.

The civil war between king Stephen and the empreſs Maud broke out immediately after the concluſion of the above council; and during its continuance there were but few eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of importance. Thurſtan archbiſhop of York having died, February 5th, A. D. 1141, the canons of that cathedral proceeded immediately to the choice of a ſucceſſor, without ſo much as conſulting either of the two rivals who were then contending for the crown of England. But theſe canons were unhappily divided in their ſentiments on this occaſion; and while one part of them declared for William, treaſurer of the church of York, and nephew to king Stephen, being the ſon of his ſiſter Emma, the other made choice of Henry Murdak, abbot of Fountains, in Yorkſhire. This diſpute, inſtead of being carried to the court of England, was immediately carried to the court of Rome, where it continued depending no leſs than five years, at an immenſe expence and trouble; and was at laſt determined in favour of the abbot, by the

[71] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 103.

influence

influence of his friend St. Bernard[72]. So much had the influence of the crown loſt, and that of the papacy gained, by the civil wars, which then raged with uncommon fury. Cent. XII.

An event which happened in theſe wars, on February 2d, A. D. 1141, gave the legate, Henry biſhop of Wincheſter, an opportunity of gratifying his reſentment againſt his brother king Stephen, in its utmoſt extent. That prince having then been taken priſoner at the battle of Lincoln, the legate openly joined the party of his rival, and by his legantine authority ſummoned a council to meet at Wincheſter, the week after Eaſter, in order to bring over all the reſt of the clergy to embrace the ſame party. The legate ſpent the firſt day of the council in private conſultations with the ſeveral different orders of the clergy ſeparately, in order to diſcover their inclinations. On the ſecond day he made a long harangue to the council, in which he loaded his unhappy brother with reproaches, and greatly magnified all the misfortunes and errors of his government. After which he concluded in this manner: "That the kingdom might not be "ruined for want of a head, I, by virtue of my "legantine authority, have ſummoned you all "to this council. Yeſterday this great queſtion, "Which of the two claimants hath the beſt right "to the crown? was canvaſſed privately by the "clergy of England, to whom it chiefly belongs The clergy in the council of Wincheſter declare for the empreſs.

[72] H. Stubs apud X Script. col. 1721.

Cent. XII. "to elect and ordain kings. And now, having "invoked the divine direction, we elect and "chuse the daughter of the late pacific, glorious, "rich, good, and incomparable king Henry, "to be the mistress of England and Normandy, "and we promise her our obedience and "fealty [73]." All who were present gave their assent to this, either by gentle acclamations or by silence. On the third day the deputies of the city of London were introduced to the council, and petitioned the legate, the archbishop, and all the clergy, to procure the liberty of their king. To convince them that this could not be granted, the legate repeated the oration he had made the day before; and then added, "That "it very ill became the citizens of London, who "were regarded as a kind of nobles in England, "to favour that party of the nobility, who had "abandoned their prince in battle, who had per-"suaded him to dishonour holy church, and who "seemed to court the Londoners with no other "view than to squeeze money from them [74]." The council broke up on the fourth day, after excommunicating some of the most active barons of the king's party.

1142. In the council of Westminster they declare for king Stephen.

The war between the parties of the empress and king Stephen having taken a different turn in the course of this year, and that prince having obtained his liberty, in exchange for the earl of Gloucester, the legate changed his party once

73 W. Malms. Hist. Novel. t. 2. p. 100. 74 Id. ibid.

more,

more, and openly declared for the king and againſt the empreſs. In conſequence of this change he called a national council, which met at Weſtminſter in the beginning of December. The king being introduced into the council, made bitter complaints of the rebellion of his ſubjects, and of the injuries that he and his friends had ſuſtained. The legate exerted all his eloquence to excuſe his former conduct, declaring, that every thing he had done in favour of the counteſs of Anjou (the name he now gave the empreſs) had been the effect of conſtraint and force. Though few believed him, none ventured to contradict him but one layman, who ſtood up, and boldly affirmed, that the empreſs had come into England in conſequence of his frequent and earneſt ſolicitations, and had done nothing but by his direction and advice. The legate, without loſing his temper, or making any anſwer, proceeded, with a grave face, to excommunicate all the diſturbers of the public peace, and favourers of the counteſs of Anjou [75]. Cent. XII.

1143. Council at London.

The legate held a council at London about the middle of Lent this year, in order to provide ſome ſecurity to the perſons and poſſeſſions of the clergy, from that violence to which they were expoſed in the civil wars. With this view the following canon was made: "That none who "violated a church or church-yard, or laid "violent hands on a clerk, ſhould be abſolved

[75] W. Malmſ. Hiſt. Novel. l. 2. p. 108, 109.

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"from excommunication by any but the pope." By this canon (says a contemporary hiſtorian) the rapacity of the kites was a little reſtrained [76].

1145. Scheme for making Wincheſter an archbiſhopric.

— The legate, elated by his legantine authority, and his great intereſt at the court of Rome, is ſaid to have formed a ſcheme of getting Wincheſter erected into an archbiſhopric by the pope. This ſcheme, if we may believe an ancient hiſtorian, was carried ſo far, that pope Lucius ſent the legate a pall, and intended to have aſſigned him ſeven biſhops for his ſuffragans [77]. However this may be, this deſign was diſappointed either by the death of the pope, the confuſions of the times, or ſome other cauſe.

1148. Council of Rheims.

Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury had been greatly mortified by that ſuperiority of rank and power which his ſuffragan the biſhop of Wincheſter poſſeſſed, by his legantine commiſſion, and his near relation to the king. Many diſputes aroſe between theſe two prelates, which were carried to the court of Rome, and proſecuted with great eagerneſs [78]. Pope Eugenius III. propoſed to hold a council at Rheims in Lent, A. D. 1148, to which he ſummoned the archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſeveral Engliſh biſhops. The legate perſuaded his brother king Stephen to prohibit the primate from attending that council; hoping, that if the archbiſhop ſlighted that prohibition, he would offend the

[76] R. Hoveden. Annal. p. 280. col. 1.
[77] Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 300. Diceto apud X ſcript. col. 508.
[78] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1665.

king; and if he obeyed it, he would incur the displeasure of the pope. In this dilemma, Theobald, chusing rather to disobey his secular than his spiritual sovereign, made his escape out of England, and was honourably received by the pope at Rheims. If ever Theobald received a commission, as some authors affirm, of being *legatus natus*, as it was called, it was probably at this time [79]. On his return to England, he was so ill received by Stephen, that he thought proper to retire again to France, till a kind of reconciliation was patched up, that was never cordial on either side [80]. Cent. XII.

Theobald archbishop of Canterbury being now restored to his see, and also invested with the legantine authority, held a general council of the English clergy, at London, about the middle of Lent, A. D. 1151. We hear of no canons that were made in this council; and though king Stephen, his eldest son prince Eustace, and the chief nobility of England, were present, its peace was much disturbed, and its authority diminished, by appeals to Rome from its decrees, of which no fewer than three were taken [81]. This practice of appealing to Rome from an English council, had only been introduced a few years before, by the late legate, Henry bishop of Winchester; and so great progress had it already made, that 1151. Appeals to Rome.

79 Antiquit. Britan. p. 127.

80 Gervas apud X Script. col. 1666. 81 Hen. Hunt. l. 8. p 227.

all

Cent. XII. all eccleſiaſtical cauſes of importance were finally determined in the court of Rome.

1154. Death of king Stephen.

England, in the three laſt years of king Stephen's reign, was a ſcene of ſo great confuſion, that no eccleſiaſtical councils were held; and the diſputes which then began to ariſe between ſeveral rich abbeys, and the biſhops of thoſe dioceſes in which they lay, about their exemption from epiſcopal juriſdiction, will fall more properly to be related in the next ſection. Death put an end to the unfortunate life and unhappy reign of this prince, October 25, A. D. 1154.

Encroachments of the papacy on the crown and church.

In the period we have been now delineating, the papacy made great encroachments, both on the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the church of England. On the prerogatives of the crown, by depriving the king of the right of granting inveſtiture to his prelates, and diminiſhing his influence in their election; on the privileges of the church and clergy, by eſtabliſhing the legantine authority,—by enforcing celibacy on the inferior clergy,—and by drawing all eccleſiaſtical cauſes of importance to Rome, by appeals.

Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Scotland.

AUTHENTIC materials for a church-hiſtory of Scotland are ſtill very ſcanty in this period, and are chiefly to be found in the Engliſh hiſtorians.

Turgot biſhop of St. Andrews.

After the ſee of St. Andrew's had continued a conſiderable time vacant, Turgot prior of Durham was recommended to Alexander I. king of Scotland

Scotland by Henry I. and elected to supply that vacancy, A. D. 1107. But a dispute having arisen between king Alexander and Thurstan archbishop of York, about the independency of the church of Scotland, the consecration of Turgot did not immediately take place. When this dispute had subsisted above a year, Henry I. interposed, and prevailed upon Thurstan to consecrate the elect of St. Andrew's, without exacting a profession of canonical obedience, leaving the rights of all parties entire, to be determined on some future occasion [82]. Turgot was accordingly consecrated at York, August 1st, A. D. 1109; from whence he went into Scotland, and governed that church for some years with prudence, and in peace [83]. At length, some difference breaking out between the king and him, he obtained leave to pay a visit to his friends in England; where he died, at Durham, March 30th, A. D. 1115 [84]. Cent. XII.

One William, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, seems to have succeeded Turgot in the see of St. Andrew's; but he either resigned or was deprived before his consecration: after which there was a vacancy of considerable duration [85]. At length king Alexander sent a letter to Ralph archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1120, desiring him to send Eadmerus, one of the monks of his

A.D. 1120. Disputes between the king of Scotland and Eadmerus bishop of St. Andrew's.

[82] Sim. Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 207.
[83] Chron. Melros. ad ann. 1109. [84] Sim. Dunelm. col. 208.
[85] Eadmer, p 132.

Cent. XII. cathedral, of whom he had heard a high character, into Scotland, to be raiſed to the primacy of his kingdom. With this deſire the archbiſhop, having alſo obtained the conſent of king Henry, joyfully complied; and Eadmerus was diſpatched with a very ſtrong letter of recommendation. He was kindly received by the king; and, on the third day after his arrival, he was elected biſhop of St. Andrew's, with much unanimity. But on the very day after his election, an unhappy diſpute aroſe between the king and him, in a private conference about his conſecration. Eadmerus having been a conſtant companion of the late and of the preſent archbiſhops of Canterbury, was a violent ſtickler for the prerogatives of that ſee. He therefore told the king, that he was determined to be conſecrated by none but the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who he believed to be the primate of all Britain. Alexander, who was a fierce prince, and ſupported the independency of his crown and kingdom with great ſpirit, was ſo much offended that he broke off the conference in a violent paſſion, declaring that the ſee of Canterbury had no pre-eminency over that of St. Andrew's [86]. This breach between the king and the biſhop-elect became daily wider, till at length Eadmerus, deſpairing of recovering the royal favour, ſent his paſtoral ring to the king, and laid his paſtoral ſtaff on the high altar, from

[86] Eadmer, p. 132.

whence

whence he had taken it, and, abandoning his bishopric, returned to England. He was kindly received by the archbishop and clergy of Canterbury, though they disapproved of his stiffness, and thought him too hasty in forsaking the honourable station to which he had been called. Nor was it long before Eadmerus became sensible of his error, and desirous of correcting it. With this view he wrote a long submissive letter to the king of Scotland, intreating his leave to return to his bishopric, promising compliance with his royal pleasure in every thing respecting his consecration, which was accompanied by an epistle to the same purpose from the archbishop [87]. But these letters, which were written A. D. 1122, did not produce the desired effect. Cent. XII.

King Alexander I. had succeeded so ill in his applications to England, that he determined to raise one of his own subjects to the primacy of his kingdom; and Robert, prior of Scone, was elected bishop of St. Andrew's in January A. D. 1124 [88]. But the same difficulties occurring about his consecration, it did not take place till long after the death of king Alexander, which happened April 26th this year. This prince was a considerable benefactor to the church, founded the abbeys of Scone and St. Columbe, was at much expence in collecting relics and clerical ornaments; and though naturally haughty in his A D. 1124. Robert bishop of St. Andrew's.

[87] Eadmer, p. 139, 140.

[88] Simi. Dunelm. apud X Script. col. 251.

deport-

Cent. XII. deportment, behaved with much condeſcenſion to the clergy [89].

A.D. 1126. St. David a great benefactor to the church. The reign of St. David, who ſucceeded his brother Alexander, was the golden age of the church and churchmen in Scotland. The famous John de Crema arrived in Scotland, A. D. 1126, as legate from the pope, and held a council at Rokeſborough, in which the king was preſent. But the decrees of this, as well as of many other Scotch councils, are loſt, though it is probable they were much the ſame with thoſe of the council which was celebrated ſoon after at London, and chiefly intended to enforce the celibacy of the clergy [90]. In the courſe of his reign, king David erected the four biſhoprics of Roſſe, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dumblane; founded and endowed the abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelſo, Melroſe, Newbottle, Holyroodhouſe, Kinloſſe, Cambuſkenneth, Dundrennan, and Holmcuttram in Cumberland; beſides ſeveral religious houſes in Newcaſtle, Carliſle, Berwick, and other places [91]. The performance of all this in twenty-nine years, by the ſovereign of ſo ſmall a ſtate as Scotland, was certainly too great an exertion, and muſt have greatly diminiſhed the lands and revenues of the crown. This pious prince died at Carliſle, May 25th, A. D.

[89] Ethelred, apud X Script. col. 368.

[90] Simeon Dunelm. col. 252, 253.

[91] Chron. de Mailros, p. 165, 166, 167. Simeon Dunelm. col. 281. Ailred apud X Script. col. 348.

1154,

1154, exactly five months before the death of king Stephen [92]. Cent. XII.

SECTION III.

The ecclesiastical history of Great Britain, from A. D. 1154, *to* A. D. 1189.

1154. Violent contest between the crown and the church.

THOUGH the court of Rome had made great encroachments both on the independency of the church, and the prerogatives of the crown of England, in the preceding period, that court was far from being satisfied with its acquisitions, but continued to prosecute its ambitious schemes with unwearied ardour and consummate policy. This occasioned such violent collisions between the crown and mitre, in the reign of Henry II. as very much disturbed the government, and even shook the throne, of that great prince.

1155. Abbeys exempted from epi. scopal jurisdiction.

One of the first ecclesiastical affairs that gave Henry II. any trouble, was the claim which some of the richest abbeys began about this time to advance, to an exemption from the jurisdiction of their bishops. A dispute on this subject between Walter abbot of Battle abbey, and his diocesan Hilary bishop of Chichester, was agitated in several councils in this and the two succeeding years; and at length was deter-

[92] Simeon Dunelm. col. 281.

mined

Cent. XII. mined in favour of the abbot, who pleaded a charter of exemption granted to his abbey by its founder William the Conqueror [1]. The ſucceſs of this abbot encouraged the hopes and enflamed the ambition of his brethren, ſome of whom did not ſcruple to forge charters of exemption. But theſe forgeries were ſo ill executed, that they were generally detected [2]. This engaged others to apply to Rome for bulls, ſubjecting themſelves immediately to the pope, and exempting them from the juriſdiction of their ordinaries. Robert, abbot of St. Albans, was the firſt who obtained ſuch a bull from pope Adrian IV. an Engliſhman, who had ſpent ſome years of his youth in the abbey of St. Albans [3]. Abbot Robert did not owe his ſucceſs entirely to this circumſtance: for his hiſtorian acquaints us, that he preſented his holineſs with three mitres and a pair of ſandals of exquiſite workmanſhip, and divided two hundred marks among the blood-ſuckers of the court. This abbot ſoon after obtained, by the ſame means, two other bulls; the one granting him and his ſucceſſors permiſſion to wear the epiſcopal ornaments, and the other appointing the parochial proceſſions and offerings of Hertfordſhire, at Whitſuntide, to be made to the church of St. Albans, and not to the cathedral of Lincoln [4]. Theſe bulls, which di-

[1] Spelman Concil. t. 2. p. 53—58.
[2] Petr. Bleſenſ. Epiſt. 68. p. 102.
[3] M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 46. [4] Id. p. 47.

miniſhed

Cent. XII.

miniſhed both the power and revenues of the biſhop of Lincoln, gave riſe to violent diſputes with that prelate; which, by the mere force of bribery, terminated in favour of the abbey [5]. Many other abbots, in different parts of England, made ſimilar applications to the court of Rome; and, by employing the ſame means, obtained the ſame exemptions, and became mitred abbots. This innovation very much diſturbed the ancient order of church-government, by diminiſhing the epiſcopal and increaſing the papal power. But none felt the fatal effects of theſe exemptions ſo ſenſibly as thoſe who had obtained them. For the exempted abbots were ſo much haraſſed by expenſive journies to Rome, and by the various exactions of that inſatiable court, that they had great reaſon to lament the ſucceſs of their ambition.

Henry II. obtains a grant of Ireland from the Pope.

Henry II. in the ſecond year of his reign, inadvertently contributed to exalt the power and pretenſions of the pope (under which he and his ſucceſſors ſo ſeverely ſmarted), by accepting a grant of the kingdom of Ireland from Adrian IV. For the ſoliciting or even accepting of this grant, was a plain acknowledgment, that the pope had a right to deprive the Iriſh princes of their dominions, and to beſtow them upon another: and in the body of the grant his holineſs takes care to mention this acknowledgment. "For it is "undeniable (ſays he), and your majeſty ac-

[5] M. Paris, Vit. Abbat. p. 48—53.

Cent. XII. "knowledges it, that all iſlands on which Chriſt, "the ſun of righteouſneſs, hath ſhined, and "which have received the Chriſtian faith, be-"long of right to St. Peter, and the moſt holy "Roman church[a]." A dangerous propoſition, to which a king of England ought never to have given any countenance. But the wiſeſt princes are ſometimes ſo blinded by their ambition, as not to ſee the moſt obvious conſequences of their conduct.

1159. Some perſons condemned and puniſhed for hereſy.

A company of about thirty men and women, who ſpoke the German language, appeared in England at this time, and ſoon attracted the attention of government by the ſingularity of their religious practices and opinions. It is indeed very difficult to diſcover with certainty what their opinions were, becauſe they are recorded only by our monkiſh hiſtorians, who ſpeak of them with much aſperity. They were apprehended, and brought before a council of the clergy at Oxford. Being interrogated about their religion, their teacher, named *Gerard*, a man of learning, anſwered, in their name, that they were Chriſtians, and believed the doctrines of the apoſtles. Upon a more particular enquiry it was found, that they denied ſeveral of the received doctrines of the church, as purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of ſaints; and, refuſing to abandon thoſe damnable hereſies, as they were called, they were con-

[a] M. Paris, Hiſt. p. 67.

demned as incorrigible heretics, and delivered to the ſecular arm to be puniſhed. The king, at the inſtigation of the clergy, commanded them to be branded with a red-hot iron on the forehead, to be whipt through the ſtreets of Oxford, and having their clothes cut ſhort by their girdles, to be turned out into the open fields, all perſons being forbidden to afford them any ſhelter or relief under the ſevereſt penalties. This cruel ſentence was executed in its utmoſt rigour; and it being the depth of winter, all theſe unhappy perſons periſhed with cold and hunger [7]. Theſe ſeem to have been the firſt who ſuffered death in Britain for the vague and variable crime of hereſy; and it would have been much to the honour of our country if they had been the laſt. Cent. XII.

On the death of Adrian IV. September 1ſt, A. D. 1159, there happened another ſchiſm in the papacy; Octavian, who aſſumed the name of *Victor* III. being choſen by one part of the cardinals; and Roland, who took the name of *Alexander* III. by another. The firſt of theſe was received as pope by the emperor Frederic; while the kings of France and England, after ſome deliberation, acknowledged the latter [8]. This ſchiſm continued about fifteen years, and was the occaſion of much confuſion in the church. 1160. Schiſm in the papacy.

[7] W. Neubrig. l. 2. c. 13. Item, p. 631. J. Brompt. col. 1050.
[8] Du Pin, cent. 12. p. 116.

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1161. Archbiſhop Theobald dies, and is ſucceeded by Thomas Becket.

Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury died, April 18th, A. D. 1161, in the twenty-ſecond year of his pontificate; and, after a vacancy of more than a year, was ſucceeded by one who makes a moſt conſpicuous figure in the eccleſiaſtical annals of England. This was the famous Thomas Becket, who was the occaſion of much political contention during his life, and the object of much ſuperſtitious veneration after his death. He was born in London, A. D. 1119; and ſtudied in the univerſities of Oxford, Paris, and Bononia, the moſt celebrated ſeats of learning in thoſe times [9]. Having got into the family and favour of archbiſhop Theobald, he was made archdeacon of Canterbury and provoſt of Beverly; and, by the earneſt recommendation of that prelate to Henry II. he was appointed chancellor of England, A. D. 1158 [10]. In this ſtation he paid his court ſo ſucceſsfully to his royal maſter, not only by his dexterity in buſineſs, but alſo by his ſplendid manner of living, and agreeable converſation, that he became his greateſt favourite, and his chief companion in his amuſements. The king was in Normandy when he heard of Theobald's death, and immediately reſolved to raiſe his chancellor to the primacy, in hopes of governing the church of England by his means in perfect tranquillity.

[9] J. Brompt. apud X Script. col. 1052. Gervas, ibid. col. 1668.
[10] J. Brompt. col. 1057, 1058.

The

The empreſs Maude, the king's mother, endeavoured to diſſuade her ſon from this deſign, and the clergy and biſhops of England oppoſed the promotion of Becket, which retarded it above a year [11]. But ſuch was Henry's fondneſs for his favourite, that he was deaf to all advice, and overcame all oppoſition, and the chancellor was elected archbiſhop at Weſtminſter, June 3d, and was conſecrated at Canterbury, June 6th, A. D. 1162 [12]. Cent. XII.

As ſoon as Becket found himſelf firmly ſeated in the archiepiſcopal chair of Canterbury, he ſuddenly changed his whole deportment and manner of life, and from the gayeſt and moſt luxurious courtier, became the moſt auſtere and ſolemn monk [13]. One of his firſt actions after his promotion, equally irritated and ſurpriſed the king. This was his reſignation of the chancellor's office, without having conſulted the inclination of his beneficent maſter, by whom he had been loaded with wealth and honours [14]. Before Henry returned to England, in January A. D. 1163, he had received ſo many complaints of the ſeverities of the new primate, that he became ſenſible, when it was too late, that he had made a wrong choice. When Becket therefore waited upon him at Southampton, it was obſerved by the whole court, that though he was treated with reſpect, he was not received with the 1162. Becket diſobliges the king.

[11] Epiſt. Divi. Thomæ, l. 1. Epiſt. 126. p. 190.
[12] Gervas, col. 1669.
[13] Id. ibid.
[14] Quadrilog. l. 1. c. 22.

Cent. XII.

same marks of friendship as on former occasions [15]. The king at the same time gave a still plainer proof of his dissatisfaction with the primate, by obliging him to resign the archdeaconry of Canterbury, which he did with great reluctance [16].

1163. Breach between the king and Becket.

Alexander III. the pope acknowledged by the kings of France and England, held a general council of the prelates of his party at Tours, in April A. D. 1163 [17]. The archbishop of Canterbury was present at this council; and was treated with every possible mark of respect and honour by the pope and cardinals, who were not ignorant that vanity and the love of admiration were his predominant passions [18]. It is highly probable, that at this interview Becket was animated by the pope in his design of becoming the champion for the liberties of the church and the immunities of the clergy. This much at least is certain, that, soon after his return, he began to prosecute this design with less reserve than formerly, which produced an open breach between him and his sovereign [19].

Opposite views of the king and Becket.

Nothing could be more opposite than the sentiments and views of the king and primate, concerning the immunities and independency which began to be claimed by the clergy about this time. The former was determined to be the

[15] Diceto apud X Script. col. 534. [16] Id. ibid.
[17] Du Pin, cent. 12. p. 213. [18] Vita S. T. Becket, c. 14. p. 28.
[19] Inett's Church Hist, b. 2. c. 12. p. 238.

sovereign

Cent. XII.

ſovereign of all his ſubjects, clergy as well as laity; to oblige them to obey his laws, or to anſwer for their diſobedience in his courts of juſtice: the latter maintained that the clergy were ſubject only to the laws of the church, were to be judged only in ſpiritual courts, and to be puniſhed only by eccleſiaſtical cenſures [20].

Council of Weſtminſter.

The diſſolute lives of the clergy at this time, and the atrocious crimes committed by ſome of them, made it neceſſary to bring this queſtion to a ſpeedy iſſue [21]. In order to this, the king called a council of the clergy and nobility at Weſtminſter; which he opened with an excellent ſpeech, in which he complained of the miſchiefs occaſioned by the thefts, robberies, and murders, committed by the clergy with impunity; and concluded with requiring, that the archbiſhop and the other biſhops would conſent, that when a clerk was degraded for any crime, he ſhould be immediately delivered to the king's officers, that he might be puniſhed for the ſame crime, according to the laws of the land [22]. The primate, dreading the compliance of the other biſhops with ſo reaſonable a demand, earneſtly intreated that they might be allowed to hold a private conference amongſt themſelves before they returned an anſwer; which was granted. In this conference, the other biſhops acknow-

20 Gervas apud X Script. col. 1670. Vita S. Thomæ. p. 33. R. Hoveden, pars poſterior, p. 282. col. 2.

21 W. Neubrigenſ. l. 2. c. 16, p. 158.

22 Stephanides, Vita S. Thomæ, p. 29.

Cent. XII. ledged, that the king's demand appeared to them to be agreeable to reaſon, law, and ſcripture. But the primate inſiſted with ſo much warmth and obſtinacy on the immunities granted to the clergy by the canons of the church, that he ſilenced all his brethren, and perſuaded them to return this anſwer to the king,—That they could not comply with his demand. On this the council broke up in confuſion [23].

1164. Becket promiſes to obey the conſtitutions of Clarendon.

Though Henry had not been ſucceſsful in his firſt attempt to perſuade the clergy to relinquiſh the pernicious immunities to which they laid claim, he determined to carry his point, if poſſible, and had frequent conferences with the primate and other prelates, in which he employed every art to prevail upon them to comply with his deſire. At length, by the earneſt intreaties of his friends, Becket began to yield a little; and waiting upon the king at Oxford, he conſented to promiſe obedience to the laws of the land, without annexing to this promiſe, as he had always done before, a ſaving of the privileges of his order [24]. The king, highly pleaſed with this ſucceſs, and reſolving to have this conſent of the prelates, to obey the laws of the land without reſerve, ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner, called a parliament or great council of the clergy and barons to meet at Clarendon, on the feſtival of St. Hilary, A. D. 1164 [25]. But be-

[23] Stephanides, Vita S. Thomæ, p. 31.
[24] Vita S. Thomæ, c. 20. p. 37.
[25] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1385.

fore

fore the meeting of this assembly, Becket had again changed his mind, and when he appeared before the council, he obstinately refused to promise obedience to the laws in the terms to which he had agreed at Oxford. At this the king was equally disappointed and enraged, the most violent debates between the bishops and the barons ensued, which continued three days, in which time every possible mean was used to overcome the obstinacy of the primate, and even threats of immediate violence were not spared. At last, by the tears and intreaties of two knights-templars, Richard of Hastings and Hosteus of Bolonia, for whom he had a great esteem, he was again softened, and appearing before the council, he, with all the other bishops, solemnly promised and swore, in the words of truth, and without any reserve, to obey all the royal laws and customs which had been established in England in the reign of his majesty's grandfather Henry I.[26] These laws and customs, commonly called *the Constitutions of Clarendon*, were put in writing, read in the council, and one copy of them delivered to the primate, another to the archbishop of York, and a third deposited among the records of the kingdom[27]. These famous constitutions, which were sixteen in number, reduced ecclesiastics of all denominations to a due subjection to the laws of their Cent. XII.

[26] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 21. p. 39.
[27] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1386. 1388.

country,

Cent. XII. country, limited the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, guarded against appeals to Rome, and the pronouncing of interdicts and excommunications, without the consent of the king or his justiciary [28]. In a word, they were in all respects wise and just; but at the same time so evidently calculated to put a stop to the encroachments of the court of Rome, and to set bounds to the extravagant immunities of the clergy, that they were equally odious to both; who never speak of them but in the harshest terms [29]. Henry made some attempts to prevail upon the pope, who was under great obligations to him, to give his sanction to the constitutions of Clarendon; but in vain [30].

Becket attempts to leave England, but is put back.

As it was with visible reluctance that Becket had sworn to obey those hated constitutions; so he soon began to give indications of his repentance, by extraordinary acts of mortification, and by refraining from performing the sacred offices of his function [31]. He also dispatched a special messenger, with an account of what had happened, to the pope; who sent him a bull, releasing him from the obligation of his oath, and enjoining him to resume the duties of his sacred office [32]. But though this bull reconciled his conscience to the violation of his oath, it did

[28] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1386. 1388. M. Paris, p. 71. Spelman. Con. t. 2. p. 63, 64.
[29] M. Paris, p. 71.
[30] Epistolæ Tho. Cantuar. l. 1. Ep. 4. p. 12.
[31] Vita S. Thomæ, c. 22. p. 40.
[32] M. Paris, p. 71, 72.

not

not diſpel his fears of the royal indignation; to avoid which he determined to retire privately out of the kingdom. With this intention he went to the port of Romney, accompanied only by two faithful friends, and there embarked for France; but being twice put back by contrary winds, he landed, and returned to Canterbury. About the ſame time the king's officers came to that city, with orders to ſeize his goods and revenues; but, on his appearing, they deſiſted from executing theſe orders [33]. Conſcious that he had tranſgreſſed thoſe laws which he had ſworn to obſerve, by attempting to leave the kingdom without permiſſion, he waited upon the king at Woodſtock; who received him without any other expreſſion of diſpleaſure, than aſking him, if he had left England becauſe he thought it too little to contain them both [34]? Cent. XII.

Tranſactions of the parliament at Northampton.

Soon after this interview, freſh miſunderſtandings aroſe between the king and the primate, who publicly protected the clergy from thoſe puniſhments which their crimes deſerved, and flatly refuſed to obey a ſummons to attend the king's court. Henry was ſo much enraged at thoſe daring inſults on the laws and the royal authority, that he determined to call him to an account for them before his peers, in a parliament which he ſummoned to meet at Northampton, October

33 M. Paris, p. 71, 72. Vita S. Thomæ, c. 21. p. 22. Diceto apud X Script. col. 537.

34 Vita S. Thomæ, p. 43.

17th,

Cent. XII. 17th, A. D. 1164[35]. This parliament was uncommonly full, as the whole nation was deeply intereſted in the iſſue of this conteſt between the crown and the mitre[36]. On the firſt day, the king in perſon accuſed the archbiſhop of contumacy, in refuſing to attend his court when he was ſummoned: againſt which accuſation having made only a very weak defence, he was unanimouſly found guilty, by the biſhops, as well as by the temporal barons, and all his goods and chattels were declared to be forfeited[37]. To this ſentence Becket, with much reluctance, ſubmitted; and the king agreeing to accept of five hundred pounds for the forfeiture, the biſhops became ſureties for their primate. On the ſecond day of the parliament, the king made a demand of five hundred pounds which he had lent to Becket when he was chancellor; who alleged, in his own defence, that this ſum had been given to him, and not lent. But not being able to produce any evidence of this grant, he was adjudged to repay the money. To this ſentence he alſo ſubmitted; and prevailed upon five of his vaſſals to become his ſureties, the biſhops declining to be any further bound[38]. But, on the third day, being Saturday, a much heavier demand was made on the archbiſhop by the king,

[35] M. Paris, p. 72.

[36] See Appendix to Lord Lyttelton's Hiſtory of Henry II. vol. 4. Octavo, p. 428.

[37] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 25. p. 47. [38] Id. ibid. c. 26. p. 48.

who

who gave in a charge of no leſs a ſum than two hundred and fifty thouſand marks, which he affirmed that prelate had received from vacant benefices while he was chancellor, and required the parliament to oblige him to account for that ſum. Becket, aſtoniſhed at this demand, begged leave to conſult with his brethren the biſhops apart, before he returned an anſwer; which was granted. When theſe prelates had retired into a ſeparate room, and their primate had demanded their advice, they differed very widely in their opinions; ſome (who were in the intereſt of the court) adviſing him to reſign his ſee, as the only means of appeaſing the king's wrath and preſerving himſelf from ruin; while others oppoſed this as a dangerous precedent, and too great an act of ſubmiſſion to the civil power. When they could not come to any unanimous reſolution, Becket ſent meſſengers to the king and barons, to crave a ſhort delay; which was granted till Monday [39]. The proceedings of this day ſtruck terror into ſo many of Becket's retainers, that when he returned to his lodgings, he was attended by very few. On Monday he was ſeized with a violent colic, which put it out of his power to appear in parliament; but he ſent a ſolemn promiſe that he would appear on the next day, though he ſhould be carried in his bed. Early on Tueſday morning many of the biſhops waited upon him in his chamber, and earneſtly intreated Cent. XII.

39 Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 27. p. 48, 49, 50.

him

Cent. XII. him to reſign his office; aſſuring him, that if he did not, he would be tried for perjury and high treaſon. But he reproached them bitterly for deſerting him in this conteſt; charged them not to preſume to ſit in judgment upon their primate; and aſſured them, that though he ſhould be burnt alive, he would not abandon his ſtation, nor forſake his flock. Having celebrated maſs, he ſet out from his houſe, dreſſed in his pontifical robes, with a conſecrated hoſt in one hand; and when he approached the hall where the king and parliament ſat, he took the croſs from the bearer, and carried it in the other hand[40]. When the king was informed of the poſture in which the primate was advancing, he retired haſtily into an inner room, commanding all the biſhops and barons to follow him. Here he complained in very ſevere terms of the intolerable audacity of Becket; and was anſwered by the barons, "That "he had always been a vain and obſtinate man, "and ought never to have been raiſed to ſo high "a ſtation: that he had been guilty of high "treaſon, both againſt the king and kingdom; "and they demanded that he ſhould be imme-"diately puniſhed as a traitor[41]." The clamours of the barons againſt Becket became ſo loud and vehement, that Roger archbiſhop of York, apprehending that they would proceed to acts of violence, retired haſtily, that he might not be a witneſs of the bloody ſcene. The

[40] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 30.

[41] Id. ibid. c. 31.

biſhop

biſhop of Exeter went into the great hall, where the primate ſat almoſt alone, and, falling at his feet, conjured him to take pity on himſelf and on his brethren, and preſerve them all from deſtruction, by complying with the king's will. But, with a ſtern countenance, he commanded him to be gone. The biſhops, apprehenſive of incurring the indignation of the pope, if they proceeded to ſit in judgment on their primate, and of the king and barons if they refuſed, begged that they might be allowed to hold a private conſultation; which was granted. After deliberating ſome time, they agreed to renounce all ſubjection to Becket as their primate; to proſecute him for perjury before the pope; and, if poſſible, to procure his depoſition. This reſolution they reported to the king and barons; who, not knowing that Becket had already obtained a bull from the pope, abſolving him from his oath, too raſhly gave their conſent; and the biſhops went into the hall in a body, and intimated their reſolution to the archbiſhop; who, not deigning to give them any anſwer, except, "I hear," a profound ſilence enſued[42]. In the mean time, the king and barons came to a reſolution, that if the archbiſhop did not immediately give in his accounts, they would declare him guilty of perjury and treaſon; and ſent out certain barons to communicate this reſolution, Robert earl of Leiceſter, who was at the head of Cent. XII.

[42] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 32. p. 55, 56.

theſe

Cent. XII. these barons, addressing himself to Becket, said, "The king commands you to come immediately, and give in your accounts; or else hear your sentence." "My sentence!" cried he, starting to his feet, "No! my son, hear me first. I was given to the church free, and discharged from all claims, when I was elected archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore I never will give any account. Besides, my son, neither law nor reason permits sons to judge their father. I decline the jurisdiction of the king and barons, and appeal to God, and my lord the pope, by whom alone I am to be judged. For you, my brethren and fellow-bishops, I summon you to appear before the pope, to be judged by him for having obeyed men rather than God. I put myself, the church of Canterbury, and all that belongs to it, under the protection of God, and the pope, under whose protection I depart hence." On this he walked out of the hall in great state, leaving the whole assembly so much disconcerted by his boldness, that none had the courage to stop him[43]. Some indeed pursued him with opprobrious language, which he returned. When he reached the street, he was received by a prodigious mob, who conducted him to his lodgings with loud acclamations. A circumstance which flattered his vanity, and increased his obstinacy.

[43] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 33. p. 57.

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In the evening, Becket, in order to conceal his intention of making his escape, sent three bishops to the king, to ask his permission to retire out of the kingdom; about which Henry said he would deliberate with his council next day. The primate, who never intended to wait the result of this deliberation, arose about midnight, and passing through a postern gate, left Northampton with only two monks in his company. After lurking in different places, and travelling only by night, he arrived at Sandwich, where he embarked on board a fisher-boat before dawn, on Tuesday, November 10th (exactly two weeks after he left Northampton), and towards evening landed at Boulogne [44].

Becket makes his escape out of England.

The flight of the archbishop occasioned no small bustle as soon as it was known. His friends either concealed themselves, or fled. The king convened the bishops and barons, to consider what was proper to be done on that event, which seems to have been unexpected. After spending some time in consultation, it was agreed to send a splendid embassy, consisting of five bishops, and several noblemen of the first rank, to the pope, to prosecute the archbishop, and, if possible, to procure his deposition. These ambassadors were furnished with a large sum of money (which was well known to be the most prevailing advocate in the papal court), and with letters to the earl of Flanders and the

Parliament agree to send a splendid embassy to the pope, to procure Becket's deposition.

44 Vita S. Thomæ, l. 1. c. 35. l. 2. c. 2.

Cent. XII. king of France, intreating thoſe princes not to afford the fugitive prelate an aſylum in their dominions. It was alſo agreed to protect the friends and property of the primate from all violence, till the iſſue of this embaſſy ſhould be known; and a proclamation was iſſued for that purpoſe [45]. The king's ambaſſadors ſailed from Dover about the ſame time that Becket ſailed from Sandwich, and they both arrived at St. Omer's on the ſame day, November 11th [46]. Here the latter lay concealed in a hermitage belonging to the abbey of St. Bertin, till the departure of the former; when he threw off his diſguiſe, reſumed his own name (which he had exchanged for that of *Brother Chriſtian*), and was treated with the greateſt reſpect and kindneſs by the clergy and people of thoſe parts [47].

Ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh ambaſſadors at the court of France.

When the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived in the French court, which was then at Compeigne, they met with a very cold reception. Louis, who was a ſuperſtitious bigot, and a great admirer of Becket, with whom he held a private correſpondence, was much ſhocked at the following expreſſion in the king of England's letter: —"Thomas, late archbiſhop of Canterbury." "Late archbiſhop!" exclaimed he:—"Who "hath depoſed him? I am a king as well as "your maſter, and yet I have no power to de-

45 Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 1. p. 63. Stephanidis Vita Thomæ Cant. p. 48.

46 Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 5. p. 68. 47 Id. ibid. c. 5, 6.

"poſe the meaneſt clerk in my dominions." Cent. XII.
He rejected all the requiſitions of the ambaſſadors; and plainly intimated, that he would protect the perſecuted prelate with all his power [48]. The two monks who had accompanied Becket in his flight, followed the Engliſh ambaſſadors from St. Omer's to the court of France; where they were received in the kindeſt manner by the king, who promiſed their maſter his friendſhip and protection; adding, "That it "had always been the glory of the kings of "France, to protect the perſecuted of all na-"tions, eſpecially the clergy [49]."

Becket's agents admitted to an audience of the pope.

From Compeigne the ambaſſadors proceeded to Sens, where the pope then reſided; being followed in this journey alſo by the above two monks; who were firſt admitted to an audience of his holineſs. Herbert, one of thoſe monks, began his harangue in this canting ſtrain: "Holy father, your ſon Joſeph no longer reigns "in Egypt, but the Egyptians have almoſt "killed him, and forced him to flee." When he deſcribed the perſecutions which his maſter had endured in England, and the toils and dangers of his eſcape, the father of fathers (as he tells us) burſt into tears, and ſaid, "And doth "your maſter ſtill live? He may claim the glory "of a martyr, though he is in the fleſh [50]."

Speeches of the Engliſh

The Engliſh ambaſſadors were admitted to an audience of the pope and cardinals the day after.

[48] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 7. [49] Id. ibid.
[50] Id. ibid. c. 8. p. 72.

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ambaſſadors to the pope.

Robert Foliot biſhop of London, who ſpoke firſt, uſing ſome ſevere expreſſions concerning the archbiſhop, was interrupted by the pope; which diſconcerted him ſo much, that he could not proceed. Hilary biſhop of Chicheſter, who was very vain of his eloquence, had no better fortune; for happening to pronounce a Latin word wrong (*oportuebat* for *oportebat*), ſo loud a laugh was raiſed, that he was quite confounded and put to ſilence. The other three biſhops obſerving the ill ſucceſs of their brethren, ſaid but little. The earl of Arundel, having apologized for his ignorance of the Latin language, made a ſpeech in Engliſh; in which he artfully extolled the authority of the pope, before which, he ſaid, all the world bowed; he magnified the veneration of his ſovereign for the perſon and character of his holineſs, of which, he obſerved, the preſent embaſſy, conſiſting of the moſt honourable perſons in his kingdom, was a proof; he even ſpoke in very reſpectful terms of the archbiſhop, and ſaid, that England might have been perfectly happy under a good prince and an excellent paſtor, if an unfortunate difference had not broken out between them; and concluded, with intreating the pope to reſtore peace between theſe two perſonages, by commanding the archbiſhop to return to England, and by ſending a legate thither to terminate all their diſputes [51].

[51] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 9. p. 74, 75.

This

This ſoothing ſpeech was very favourably heard; and the pope, having conſulted with the cardinals, told the ambaſſadors, that no anſwer could be given to their petition till the archbiſhop had been heard. But the ambaſſadors inſiſting on an immediate anſwer, becauſe their maſter had commanded them to ſtay only three days, his holineſs was thrown into great perplexity. Some of the cardinals, who had been ſecretly gained by the ambaſſadors, pleaded earneſtly for granting their petition; and, as the ſchiſm ſtill ſubſiſted, the pope was apprehenſive, that if he gave a flat denial, the king of England might abandon his party, and embrace that of his opponent. On the other hand, it was thought equally imprudent and diſhonourable, to abandon the archbiſhop, who had ſuffered ſo much for the immunities of the clergy. The pope, therefore, after ſome deliberation, adhered to his former anſwer: on which the ambaſſadors left his court, and haſtened back to England, where they arrived about Chriſtmas A. D. 1164 [52].

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The pope's anſwer.

The ambaſſadors return to England.

As ſoon as Becket was aſſured of the favour and protection of the king of France, he collected his ſcattered followers, and ſet out from St. Omer's. When he arrived at Soiſſons, where the French court then reſided, the king paid him the firſt viſit, embraced him in the moſt affectionate manner, and obliged him to accept of an order on the royal treaſury for every thing

Reception of Becket by the king of France and the pope.

The conſtitutions of Clarendon condemned.

[52] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 9. p. 75, 76.

Cent. XII. he needed while he remained in France. Having ſpent three days at Soiſſons, he departed with a numerous retinue for Sens, which he entered in a kind of triumph, and was received with the greateſt reſpect and kindneſs by the pope. Next day a ſolemn council of all the cardinals and prelates was held, in which he was ſeated on the pope's right hand, and deſired to explain his cauſe without riſing from his ſeat. He made a very artful ſpeech; in which he magnified the high favour in which he had long ſtood with the king of England, which he ſaid he could recover when he pleaſed, if he would abandon the cauſe of the church, and ſubmit to the conſtitutions of Clarendon. He then produced a copy of theſe conſtitutions, which he deſired might be read. Nothing could be better contrived than this to ſecure the favour of the pope and cardinals, as ſeveral of theſe conſtitutions were directly calculated to abridge their power and aboliſh their uſurpations. Accordingly, they were no ſooner read, than the whole aſſembly broke out into the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of their abhorrence of them, and into the higheſt encomiums on the archbiſhop, declaring, that his cauſe was the cauſe of God and the church, and that he ought to be ſupported [53]. On the day after, in a private conſiſtory, Becket, ſtill further to ingratiate himſelf, reſigned his ſee into the hands of the pope, pretending, that his conſcience was much diſquieted

[53] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. p. 77, 78.

for

for his having been advanced to that dignity by the influence of the king. Some of the cardinals, who were ſecretly in the intereſt of the court of England, and by the hiſtorians of thoſe times are called the phariſees, propoſed to accept of this reſignation, as the beſt way of terminating this diſpute; but the majority rejected this propoſal with diſdain, declaring, that if Becket was abandoned, no biſhop would dare to reſiſt his prince, and the church would be ruined. By their advice, the pope reſtored the archbiſhopric to Becket, with high encomiums on his piety and fortitude, at the ſame time appointing him to take up his reſidence in the abbey of Pontigni in Burgundy [54]. Cent. XII.

When Henry received the report of his ambaſſadors on their return from Sens, he was highly offended both with the pope and the archbiſhop, and reſolved to make them feel the weight of his reſentment. In order to this, he prohibited the payment of Peter-pence, and commanded all clerks who preſumed to appeal to the pope, to be impriſoned [55]. He alſo commanded all the goods and revenues of the archbiſhop, and of all the clergy who adhered to him, to be ſeized. He did not even ſtop here, but confiſcated the eſtates, and baniſhed the perſons, of all the primate's friends, retainers, and rela- A.D. 1165. Severe meaſures againſt Becket and his friends.

54 Vita S. Thomæ. c. 12. p. 79, 80.

55 Epiſtolæ Divi Thomæ. l. 1. ep. 13, 14, 15. Hoveden Annal. p. 285. col. 1.

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tions, to the number of about four hundred, obliging them to take an oath to preſent themſelves before Becket, in hopes that the ſight of ſo many perſons involved in ruin on his account, would ſhake his reſolution, and induce him to ſubmit. But this was as imprudent as it was unjuſt. For it made ſtep the king appear in the light of a cruel tyrant, and excited univerſal compaſſion towards the archbiſhop and his exiled friends, who were ſo hoſpitably entertained by the king of France, and his nobility and clergy, that they lived more happily than in their own country [56].

Interview between Henry and the king of France.

The kings of France and England had an interview at Gizors, in Eaſter week, A. D. 1165, in which the affair of Becket was the chief ſubject of their negotiations. But as Henry inſiſted on the ſubmiſſion of the archbiſhop to the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and Louis refuſed to withdraw his protection from him, nothing was concluded [57]. An interview was propoſed about the ſame time between king Henry and the pope; which did not take place; becauſe the king propoſed that the archbiſhop ſhould not be preſent; to which his holineſs returned this haughty anſwer: "That no man had a right to exclude "any perſon from the preſence of the ſovereign "pontiff, whoſe prerogative it had always been, "to protect oppreſſed exiles from the violence

56 Stephanid. in Vita S. Thomæ, p. 52. Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 14. p. 82.

57 J. Sariſbur. Epiſt. 31.

"of

" of the wicked, and even from the rage of " princes [58]." Cent. XII.

Conduct of the pope and Becket, offensive to Henry.

Henry was so much engaged for the greatest part of this year, after his return from the continent, in his wars against the princes of Wales, that he had no leisure to attend to the affairs of the church, or of the exiled archbishop, who continued to reside in the abbey of Pontigni. In this retreat, his historians tell us, he spent his time in reading the scriptures, and in devout exercises, and sometimes amused himself by assisting the monks in their rural labours [59]. But there is sufficient evidence, that he was far from being unmindful of his secular interests. For in this interval he wrote many letters to different persons in England, in which he praises some for their adherence to, and reproaches others for their apostasy from, the cause of God; with which honourable appellation he dignified his own side of the question in his dispute with the king [60]. He also engaged the pope to write letters to several persons in England, exhorting and commanding them to espouse his cause [61]. He had also agents in the courts of Rome and France, as well as in England, who laboured to increase the number of his friends, and to raise up enemies to his sovereign [62]. At his instigation the pope published a bull, annulling the sentence pronounced

58 Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 16. p. 84.
59 Gervas apud X Script. col. 1400.
60 Vide Epistolas Thomæ Cantuaren. Epist. 34. 40. 52, &c. &c.
61 Id. ibid. 62 Baron. Annal. ann. 1168.

in

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in the firſt ſeſſion of the parliament of Northampton againſt Becket for contumacy, on this inſolent pretence, that it did not become inferiors to judge their ſuperior [63]. In the ſame ſtrain Becket wrote ſeveral letters to Henry, in which he plainly tells him,—That kings received all their power from the church; but prieſts received their power from Chriſt, and were the undoubted fathers and maſters of kings and princes [64]. On theſe and other accounts, Henry was ſo much offended, both with the archbiſhop and the pope, that he began to entertain thoughts of abandoning the party of Alexander, and of embracing that of his rival Paſchal; which he intimated in a letter to the archbiſhop of Cologne [65].

A.D. 1166. Becket excommunicates many perſons, and threatens to excommunicate the king.

Henry having returned to the continent in the ſpring of this year, his diſpute with Becket became more violent. For that furious prelate, finding that his monitory and threatening letters had produced no effect, became impatient to ſtrike the laſt deciſive blow, by pronouncing the ſentence of excommunication againſt his king and benefactor; a ſentence which, in thoſe times, made the greateſt princes tremble on their thrones. But from this he was reſtrained, for ſome time, by the greater timidity or greater policy of the pope, who adviſed him to exerciſe a little longer forbearance with the prince, permitting him to

63 Epiſtol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 49.
64 Id. Ep. 64, 65, 66.
65 Id, Ep. 69.

do

do as he pleaſed with others[66]. In conſequence of this permiſſion he excommunicated John of Oxford, who had been much employed by the king, and ſuſpended the biſhop of Saliſbury, for admitting John into the deanry of that church. He alſo excommunicated Richard de Lucy, chief juſticiary, and Joceline de Baliol, becauſe they had been the chief promoters of the conſtitutions of Clarendon; with Ralph de Broc, Hugh de St. Clare, and Thomas Fitz-Bernard, becauſe they had ſeized the poſſeſſions of the church of Canterbury. All theſe cenſures he notified in a letter directed to all the biſhops of the province of Canterbury; acquainting them at the ſame time, that he had delayed a little the excommunication of the king, in hopes of his repentance; but that if he did not repent very ſoon, he would delay no longer[67]. Cent. XII.

Not only the biſhop of Saliſbury, but all the other biſhops and clergy, were alarmed at theſe violent proceedings, and more violent threatenings; and wrote a letter in the name of all the clergy of his province to their primate; in which they repreſented, with great freedom,—his ingratitude to his gracious ſovereign, who had raiſed him from a low condition to the higheſt honours;—the uncanonical means by which he had obtained his ſee;—the informality and ſeverity of his cenſures already pronounced;—the injuſtice and danger of thoſe which he meditated Letter of the Engliſh biſhops to Becket.

[66] Epiſtol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 54. [67] Id. Ep. 96. 100.

againſt

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againſt the king;—and concluded with an appeal to the pope againſt all his proceedings [68]. But Becket was ſo far from being reſtrained by this letter, to which he wrote a very long and ſpirited anſwer, that he prepared in earneſt to execute his threats. With this reſolution he acquainted the pope, by a letter, in which he painted the king of England in the moſt odious colours, as a cruel, impious, unrelenting perſecutor, who had tried and condemned Chriſt, at Northampton, in his perſon [69].

Henry's precautions againſt the effects of his threatened excommunication.

When Henry heard of Becket's deſign, he was much alarmed; and called a council of his barons and prelates at Chinon in Touraine, to conſider what was to be done to prevent his excommunication, or to guard againſt its conſequences. At the opening of this council, the king is ſaid to have been much agitated, to have even ſhed tears, and to have ſpoken with much bitterneſs againſt Becket, who, he ſaid, ſeemed to be determined to ruin both his ſoul and body. After long deliberation, the council could think of no better expedient than an appeal to the pope; and two biſhops were ſent to Pontigni to notify that appeal. When theſe prelates reached the place of his retreat, they were told, that the archbiſhop had gone a few days before to Soiſſons, to perform his devotions at the ſhrine of St. Dranſius, the patron of combatants, to implore his protection in that dangerous conflict in

68 Epiſtol. S. Thomæ, Ep. 126.

69 Id. Ep. 129.

which

which he was engaged againſt the king of England. This prevented their giving him a regular notification of the appeal [70]. Henry, ſtill apprehenſive that nothing would ſtop the furious zeal of Becket, ſent orders into England, to guard the ſea-coaſts with the greateſt care, to ſearch all who came from the continent, and if letters of excommunication or interdict were found upon any perſon, to puniſh him, if he was a clergyman, by caſtration; if he was a layman, by death [71]. So terrible to the greateſt princes were the thunders of the church in thoſe days of darkneſs and ſuperſtition! Cent. XII.

Becket, prevented by the king of France from excommunicating Henry, excommunicates his miniſters.

Becket in his return from the ſhrine of St. Dranſius, full of confidence in the protection of that courageous ſaint, halted at Vizelay, where he deſigned to pronounce the dreaded anathema againſt his ſovereign, on Whitſunday A. D. 1166; but was prevented by a meſſage from his great friend the king of France, who acquainted him, that Henry had fallen into a dangerous ſickneſs, and adviſed him to delay the final ſentence againſt him for ſome time. Not daring to diſregard this advice, and yet determined to do ſomething deciſive, he mounted the roſtrum on Whitſunday, and, before a crowded audience, publiſhed ſentences of excommunication againſt all the king of England's miniſters and chief confidents, by name; declaring, that he would

70 Epiſt. S. Thomæ, Ep. 140.

71 See Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. octavo, vol. 4. p. 473.

in

Cent. XII. in a ſhort time pronounce a ſimilar ſentence againſt the king himſelf if he did not ſpeedily repent, and repair the injuries he had done to the church. At the ſame time, he declared the impious conſtitutions of Clarendon null and void, abſolved all the biſhops of England from the unlawful oath they had taken to obey them, and excommunicated all perſons who paid them any regard [72]. Henry was ſo much offended at theſe preſumptuous proceedings, that he threatened the monks of the Ciſtertian order, that he would expel them out of all his dominions, if they entertained his enemy the archbiſhop of Canterbury any longer at Pontigni; which obliged him to remove to Sens about Martinmas A. D. 1166, where an honourable aſylum was provided for him by the king of France [73].

Change in the politics of the court of Rome.

In the mean time the agents of both parties were negotiating with great eagerneſs at the court of Rome; and thoſe of the archbiſhop, October 22d, A. D. 1166, obtained for their maſter a legantine commiſſion over the province of Canterbury [74]. This was not only a mark of the pope's favour, but a great addition of power to the archbiſhop, which he was preparing to uſe with vigour, when the balance ſuddenly turned againſt him at the court of Rome. This change in the papal politics was owing to ſeveral circumſtances which are but

72 Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 140.
73 Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2.
74 Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 118.

imper-

imperfectly known. The emperor had gained some advantages in Italy, which made his holineſs ſet a greater value on the favour of the king of England: and the Marquis of Montferrat, who was one of the pope's moſt powerful allies, had aſked one of Henry's daughters in marriage for his ſon, and warmly ſeconded the ſolicitations of the royal agents; who were alſo better provided with money than thoſe of the archbiſhop [75]. Theſe agents obtained a very ſoothing letter from the pope to their maſter the king of England, dated December 20th, A. D. 1166; in which he acquaints him, that he had given a commiſſion to two cardinals to determine all controverſies between him and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and between that prelate and the biſhops of England; and that theſe legates would ſet out on their journey in January;—that he had given his legates authority to abſolve all the king's ſervants and ſubjects who had been excommunicated;—and that he had inhibited the archbiſhop from iſſuing any cenſures againſt him, or any of his ſubjects, while this cauſe was depending [76].

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Nothing could exceed the conſternation of Becket when he heard of this bull; eſpecially as he was informed at the ſame time, that the king's agents, John of Oxford, John Cumin, and Ralph Tamiwurde, had obtained copies of all the let-

1167. Conſternation of Becket.

75 Epiſt. S. Thomæ, Ep. 130.

76 See Lord Littelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 478, 479.

ters

Cent. XII. ters that he and his friends had written to the pope againſt the king [77]. Unwilling to believe ſo much ill news, he wrote to John of Poitou, his agent at the court of Rome, earneſtly intreating him to diſcover the truth, and acquaint him with it; adding, "If theſe things which are "reported be true, my lord the pope hath ſuf- "focated and ſtrangled not only me, but alſo "himſelf and all the clergy." He tells him further, that ſince theſe reports aroſe, the Engliſh biſhops and clergy paid no regard to his commands, looking on his depoſition as unavoidable; and that the French nobility and prelates, who had hitherto entertained his exiled friends, now began to diſcard them [78].

He is ſupported by the king of France.

The truth is, the affairs of Becket were in a very bad condition at this time; and it is highly probable that Henry would have obtained a complete victory in this famous conteſt, if the king of France had not interpoſed. But that prince, whoſe reigning paſſions were bigotry in religion, and enmity to the king of England, was more diſpleaſed, if poſſible, than Becket himſelf, with the pope; declaring, that he would not ſuffer the legates to enter his dominions; and that he was as much offended with them as if they had come to pull the crown off his own head [79]. The ſtrong remonſtrances of Louis, the loud complaints and importunities of Becket, together

[77] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 1. Ep. 164. [78] Id. ibid. Ep. 165.
[79] Id. ibid. Ep. 166.

with ſome changes in the political ſtate of Europe, gave a new turn to this affair leſs favourable to Henry [80]. Cent. XII.

Though the legates (who were William of Pavia, a cardinal prieſt, and a declared friend of the king of England, and Otto, a cardinal deacon, who was ſuſpected to be of a venal diſpoſition) ſet out from Rome in January, they met with ſo many interruptions in their journey, from the wars in Italy and other cauſes, that they did not reach Montpellier till the end of October A. D. 1167 [81]. On their arrival in France, a correſpondence commenced between them and Becket on the ſubject of their commiſſion; in which the latter diſcovers the moſt intolerable arrogance and inflexible obſtinacy, denying that they had any authority to act as judges, but only as mediators between him and the king [82]. This miſunderſtanding about the nature of their commiſſion, was owing to the artful diſingenuous conduct of the pope, who, in order to pleaſe both parties, had repreſented it, in his letters to the king, as a commiſſion to judge and determine, but in his letters to the archbiſhop as a commiſſion to negotiate a reconciliation [83]. The truth ſeems to have been, that the pope had given the legates a commiſſion to act as judges, but had given them alſo ſecret inſtructions to act only as mediators [84]. Duplicity of the pope.

[80] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 24. [81] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 4.
[82] Id. l. 2. Ep. 9. 10, 11, 12, 13.
[83] Id. l. 2. Ep. 1, 2.
[84] Id. l. 2. c. 22.

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Condescension of the king.

When the legates had an interview with the king of England in the city of Maine, soon after their arrival in France, and communicated their instructions to that prince, he expressed great displeasure that these instructions were different from what the pope had given him reason to expect. He complained also, that the archbishop had stirred up both the king of France and the earl of Flanders to make war upon him. He affirmed likewise, that the account which had been given to the pope by the archbishop of the constitutions of Clarendon, was false; which the English bishops then present also attested. He added further, that if any laws had been made in his own time inconsistent with the laws of the church, he was willing that they should be abolished; and at the request of the English bishops he consented that the legates should act either as judges or mediators between him and the archbishop [85].

Inflexibility of Becket.

After these concessions, which seemed to lay a foundation for an agreement, the legates, with some difficulty, procured an interview with Becket, November 17th, A. D. 1167; at which he behaved with great haughtiness and inflexibility, refusing to submit to them as judges, and declining to give them any ground to proceed upon as mediators with the least hopes of success. For to all his seeming concessions he constantly added,—a saving of the honour of God,

[85] Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 28.

—of the apoſtolic ſee,—and of his own perſon, —of all the liberties and of all the poſſeſſions of the church, which they knew the king would not admit, as it would be a ſource of endleſs diſputes [86].

When the legates reported what had paſſed at this interview to the king and the Engliſh biſhops, who were with him in Normandy, that prince and theſe prelates proteſted, that they had performed their part, in offering to ſubmit to them either as judges or mediators, and that the archbiſhop had not performed his part, as he had not made a ſimilar ſubmiſſion; and further, in order to ſcreen themſelves from the ſevere cenſures which they dreaded from that enraged prelate, they appealed to the pope, and put themſelves and the kingdom of England under the immediate protection of the holy ſee, until the feaſt of St. Martin, in the year following. The king and biſhops alſo requeſted the legates to notify their appeal to the archbiſhop, and to inhibit him from iſſuing any cenſures againſt them in the interval. With this requeſt the legates complied, and prohibited the archbiſhop, in their own, and in the pope's name, from inflicting any cenſures on the king or kingdom of England during the time of the appeal [87]. No hungry lion was ever more enraged at having his prey torn from him when he was ready to devour it, than Becket was at this prohibition.

The king appeals to Rome.

[86] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 28. 30.

[87] Id. l. 2. Ep. 29.

Cent. XII. He complained of it to the pope and cardinals in the bittereſt terms, painting the king of England in the blackeſt colours, and accuſing the legates of having been bribed by that prince [88].

1168. Attempt to reconcile the king and Becket miſcarries.

The prohibition of the pope's legates produced a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities for ſome time between the king and Becket, who was reſtrained, much againſt his will, from launching the thunders of the church againſt his ſovereign. The earl of Flanders made an attempt to put an end to this long and violent diſpute, and in order to this, he brought Becket with him, about Midſummer A. D. 1168, to the place appointed for a conference between the kings of France and England. But Henry, ſecured from the cenſures of the church by the prohibition of the legates, and ſtill further by a bull he had about that time received from the pope, ſuſpending the archbiſhop's ſpiritual authority over him and his ſubjects till he had recovered his favour, would make no advances towards a reconciliation, nor ſo much as admit Becket into his preſence. That prelate was therefore obliged to return to the place of his retirement, tormented with mortified pride and impotent reſentment [89].

1169. Another attempt towards a reconciliation unſucceſsful.

The kings of France and England had another interview, January 6th, A. D. 1169, at which a treaty of peace was concluded. Two abbots, with Bernard de Corillo, a monk, who had acted as a kind of mediators between the two

[88] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 2. Ep. 46, 47.

[89] Id. l. 2. c. 32. 58.

monarchs,

monarchs, brought Becket with them to the place of this interview, in hopes of bringing about a reconciliation between him and his ſovereign. To accompliſh this, they were at great pains to perſuade that haughty prelate to behave in the moſt humble and reſpectful manner to his much-offended prince, in order to appeaſe his anger, and facilitate an accommodation; in which, being ſeconded by the king of France, and all the princes and prelates who were preſent, they at length prevailed. Accordingly, when he was introduced to Henry, he fell upon his knees, and ſaid, "I ſubmit myſelf to the mercy of God and the king, to "the honour of God and the king;" a form of words that were very artfully contrived, and full of ambiguity. This did not eſcape the penetration of Henry, who expreſſed his diſſatisfaction with this form of ſubmiſſion, and inſiſted that the archbiſhop ſhould promiſe, in plain words, "That he would obey thoſe laws and cuſtoms "which the holy archbiſhops of Canterbury had "obeyed in the times of former kings, and "which he had ſolemnly ſworn to obey." This Becket refuſed to do; alleging, that his predeceſſors had not been preſſed to make ſuch a promiſe. But the king inſiſting upon it, and many of the nobles and biſhops vehemently urging him to comply, he at laſt conſented to make the promiſe required, with a ſaving of the honour of God and of the rights of his order[90]. The Cent. XII.

[90] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 4. Ep. 8.

Cent. XII. king, well knowing what was intended by theſe ſavings, rejected this offer; and, addreſſing himſelf to the king of France, ſaid, with an affecting air and tone of voice, "My liege lord, "I earneſtly intreat your attention. I know, "that whatever happens to diſpleaſe him, he "will ſay is contrary to the honour of God, and "the rights of his order. But that it may ap"pear to all the world that I do not oppoſe the "honour of God, or the real rights of his order, "I here make this offer. There have been "many kings of England before me, ſome "weaker and others greater than I am; there "have been alſo many great and holy men, "archbiſhops of Canterbury before him; let "him behave towards me as the greateſt and "moſt holy of his predeceſſors behaved towards "the weakeſt of mine, and I am ſatisfied [91]." This ſpeech had no little influence on the audience, who cried out, that the king's conceſſions were ſufficient; and the archbiſhop remaining ſilent, the king of France added, "My "lord archbiſhop, why do you heſitate? Peace "is now in your offer." But Becket, with an invincible firmneſs, that could not be ſhaken either by the threats of his enemies, nor the moſt earneſt intreaties of his friends, adhered to his former ſavings; and the conference broke off without effect [92]. This gave many of the French nobility unfavourable impreſſions of him as a

[91] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 2. c. 25. [92] Id. ibid.

perſon

perſon of intolerable pride and obſtinacy; and even his great friend and patron Louis was for a little time diſguſted. Cent. XII.

At a ſecond interview between the two kings, in the beginning of this year, another attempt was made to bring about a reconciliation between Henry and Becket; and in order to render the former more tractable, a bull was delivered to him, in which the pope declared, that if he was not reconciled to the archbiſhop before the beginning of next Lent, he would reſtore that prelate to the full exerciſe of his ſpiritual authority over him and his kingdom. Henry, well knowing what uſe would be made of that authority if it was reſtored, propoſed to the two priors, who were appointed by the pope to be mediators in this negotiation, that he would permit the archbiſhop to return into England, and enjoy all the emoluments of his ſee, if he would only promiſe to behave towards him as former archbiſhops had behaved towards former kings. When that was reported to Becket, he conſented to make that promiſe, with a ſaving of the rights of his order; and as the king obſtinately perſiſted in rejecting this ſaving, and the prelate as obſtinately perſiſted in adhering to it, all the efforts of the mediators to bring about a reconciliation were in vain [93]. A third attempt to reconcile the king and Becket fails.

After this negotiation had terminated without effect, both parties became more exaſperated Becket excommunicates ſe-

[93] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 4. Ep. 1. 8, 9, 10.

Cent. XII. than ever, and all hopes of a reconciliation seemed to be at an end. Becket, in his letters to the pope, at this time, speaks of Henry in the bitterest terms, as a more cruel tyrant and persecutor than Herod[94]. As soon as Lent commenced, he resumed the exercise of his spiritual authority; and, without consulting the pope, thundered out sentences of excommunication against many of the greatest men, both among the clergy and laity, particularly against the bishops of London and Salisbury, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and his vicar Hugh earl of Chester, Richard de Lucy chief justiciary, Neigil de Sackville, Thomas Fitzbernard, William Giffard, &c. &c[95].

veral persons of high rank.

While Becket was thus employed in launching the thunders of the church, Henry was not idle. He gave orders to his ambassadors at Beneventum, where the pope then resided, to labour with the greatest earnestness to persuade his holiness to translate Becket from Canterbury to some other see. As this seemed to be the only expedient for terminating this fatal dispute, and the king's heart was greatly set upon it, he gave them authority to offer the pope a present of ten thousand marks,—to procure him peace with the emperor and Roman nobility,—and to allow him to fill the see of Canterbury, and all the other sees that were then vacant in England[96]. But

Two nuncios from the pope endeavour to make peace, but in vain.

[94] Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 79. l. 3.
[95] Id. l. 3. Ep. 58. Wilkin. Concilia, t. 1. p. 455, 456.
[96] Epist. S. Thomæ, Ep. 79, 80. l. 3.

these

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theſe tempting offers were rejected, the pope ſuſpecting that they were too great to be faithfully performed; and all that the ambaſſadors could obtain was a promiſe, that his holineſs would ſend two nuncios into Normandy, to negotiate a peace between the king and the archbiſhop. Accordingly Vivian archdeacon of Rome, and Gratian ſubdeacon, were nominated; and having received their commiſſion and inſtructions, they ſet out for Normandy, and were received with great reſpect by the king, at Damfront, Auguſt 23d, A. D. 1169[97]. Theſe nuncios had ſeveral long conferences with Henry, at different places, in the months of Auguſt and September; but though they ſeemed to be ſometimes on the very point of making peace, new difficulties ſtill aroſe, and all their labours proved finally unſucceſsful: on which they left Normandy ſoon after Michaelmas[98].

Terms of reconciliation propoſed by Becket are rejected by Henry, and thoſe propoſed by Henry rejected by Becket.

After the departure of the nuncios, Henry's apprehenſions of an excommunication and interdict increaſed ſo much, that he ſent a meſſenger after Vivian, with a letter, earneſtly intreating him to return, and reſume his negotiations, giving him ſtrong aſſurances that they would be crowned with ſucceſs. With this requeſt Vivian complied, to the great diſſatisfaction of Becket, who was impatient to proceed to extremities[99].

97 Epiſt. S. Thomæ, Ep. 6. l. 3.
98 Gervas. apud X Script. col. 1407.
99 Epiſt. S. Thomæ, Ep. 9, 10. l. 3.

But

Cent. XII. But he did not venture to diſobey a letter ſent him by the nuncio, requiring him to attend an interview of the kings of France and England, which was to be at St. Denys, November 15th, A. D. 1169. Having come to Paris, he ſent a petition to the king, containing the conditions on which he was willing to be reconciled to his ſovereign, which amounted to a full reſtoration of himſelf, and of all who had followed his fortunes, to all the rights and poſſeſſions which they had enjoyed before they left England. He alſo claimed all the churches and prebends belonging to the church of Canterbury that had become vacant ſince his retreat, that he might diſpoſe of them as he pleaſed [100]. This laſt article was very diſagreeable to Henry, as it would have produced the expulſion of his own friends from many valuable livings, to make way for thoſe of the archbiſhop; and the whole petition was couched in ſuch ambiguous terms, that he declined to grant it; but propoſed the following plain and ſhort terms, to which he was willing to give his conſent: "That the archbiſhop ſhould have his "church, and all the poſſeſſions of it that had "been held by his predeceſſors, and as they had "been held by them [101]." This form, for very obvious reaſons, was rejected by the archbiſhop; eſpecially as the king had declared his reſolution not to give him the kiſs of peace, which in thoſe times was eſteemed an eſſential ceremony in all

[100] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 3. Ep. 62.

[101] Id. ibid.

reconci-

reconciliations [102]. Vivian having thus failed in his ſecond attempt to bring about a peace between thoſe two jealous and inflamed opponents, returned to Italy in great diſcontent. Cent. XII.

Precautions to prevent the ſentence of excommunication being publiſhed in England.

As Henry now dreaded that a ſentence of excommunication would be immediately pronounced againſt himſelf, and an interdict laid on his kingdom, by the archbiſhop, he made haſte to take the moſt effectual meaſures to prevent theſe ſentences from being executed, or even publiſhed in England. With this view he ſent over his royal injunctions, forbidding all intercourſe between his ſubjects and the pope or archbiſhop; declaring it high treaſon to bring any interdict from either of them into England, or to pay any obedience to ſuch interdict; confiſcating all the poſſeſſions of all who ſhould in any way favour the pope and archbiſhop, together with the poſſeſſions of all their relations; and finally commanded Peter-pence to be paid into the royal treaſury, and not to the pope [103]. To render theſe injunctions more effectual, an oath was required from all perſons, that they would obſerve them; which was cheerfully given by the laity of all ranks, but generally refuſed by the clergy [104].

1170. Terms of reconciliation ſettled in the court of Rome.

This was not the only means employed by Henry to prevent or guard againſt the cenſures of his adverſary. He ſent directions to his agents

[102] Du Cange, Gloſſ. voc. Oſculum Pacis.

[103] Gervas Chron. apud X Script. col. 1409.

[104] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 3. Ep. 65.

at

Cent. XII. at the papal court, to ſettle the terms of an accommodation between him and Becket, with the pope in perſon, which they at length accompliſhed; and the following form of pacification propoſed by them was approved of by his holineſs: "That for the love of God, of the "pope, and of the church of Rome, the king "would permit the archbiſhop to return to his "church in ſafety, and to have and hold it in "peace, together with all the poſſeſſions he had "before he left England. The ſame to all who "were in exile on his account [105]." To bring about an accommodation on this plan, the pope gave a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Rouen and the biſhop of Nevers; and as he apprehended ſome difficulty would occur about the kiſs of peace, which the king had ſworn in his anger he would never give to Becket, he abſolved him from his oath, and inſtructed theſe commiſſioners to preſs him as much as poſſible to give it; but if they could not prevail, they were then to perſuade the archbiſhop to accept of it from prince Henry. Theſe prelates were alſo authoriſed to abſolve all thoſe whom Becket had excommunicated [106].

Commiſſion of the pope to crown prince Henry.

The king of England's agents were at this time ſo ſucceſsful in their negotiations at the court of Rome, that they obtained another favour for him from his holineſs. This was a bull impowering Roger, archbiſhop of York, to crown

[105] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 1.

[106] Id. ibid. Ep. 2, 3, 4.

prince

prince Henry; a project which his too indulgent father had very much at heart, but had been prevented from executing by his quarrel with Becket, who claimed an exclusive right to perform that office [107]. Richard Barre brought this bull, with the commission to the archbishop of Rouen and the bishops of Nevers, into Normandy, in February A. D. 1170; and in the beginning of March Henry sailed into England to carry his favourite design of crowning his son into execution. These successes of the royal agents put Becket into a rage, that seems to have approached to madness. In his letters to the pope and cardinals, he tells them in the plainest terms,—that they had been bribed,—that they had absolved the devil and crucified Christ,—and that he would make no more applications to the court of Rome, where none but wicked men prevailed [108]. Cent. XII.

Reconciliation between Henry and Becket.

The departure of Henry from the continent, prevented the papal nuncios from commencing their negotiations for a peace between him and Becket so soon as they intended. This served still further to inflame the fury of that prelate, to which he gave vent, by writing threatening letters to the bishops of England to deter them from crowning the young king, and by laying an interdict upon the kingdom; but the ports were so carefully guarded, and the danger of

[107] See Appendix, No. 16. to Lord Lyttelton's Hist. Hen. II. vol. 4. octavo, p. 498.

[108] Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 20, 21.

bringing

Cent. XII. bringing over these letters was so great, that none of them were made public, or produced any effect[109]. The king having accomplished the coronation of his son, and settled his other affairs in England, returned to the continent, and held several conferences with the nuncios, in which all the articles of reconciliation between him and Becket were agreed upon, except that of the kiss of peace. This Henry struggled earnestly to avoid promising, but was at length obliged to yield to the invincible pertinacity of the prelate; and thought himself very happy, that by the most earnest intreaties he obtained a delay of that ceremony at their first interview, because it was to be in the territories of France[110]. All preliminaries being thus adjusted, the archbishop was conducted in great state to an audience of his sovereign, July 22d, A. D. 1170, in a meadow near Fretvile (in which the kings of France and England had held conferences the two preceding days), where the French and English courts, with a prodigious multitude of people of all ranks, were assembled. As soon as the king saw the archbishop approaching, he put spurs to his horse, and advanced to meet him, with his head uncovered. The prelate intended to have spoken first, but the king prevented him, by a most gracious address; and taking him by the hand, led him aside, and entered into a familiar conver-

[109] Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 4 Ep. 44, 45, 46. l. 5. Ep. 30. 35, 36, &c.
[110] Id. l. 5. Ep. 12. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 68.

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ſation with him. But all this condeſcenſion of his ſovereign ſeems to have made little or no impreſſion on the heart of Becket. For, according to his own account of this tranſaction, he made a long diſcourſe, enumerating all the injuries the king had done to the church; dwelling long on that greateſt injury of permitting his ſon to be crowned by the archbiſhop of York; and inſiſting, that he ſhould make ample reparation for all theſe injuries, and permit thoſe who had been concerned in them to be duly cenſured; to which the king aſſented. On which the archbiſhop diſmounted, in order to throw himſelf at his feet: but in this alſo he was prevented by Henry, who ſtooped ſo low as to hold his ſtirrup, and aſſiſt him in remounting. After this the terms of the peace and reconciliation, as they had been ſettled, were publicly read by the archbiſhop of Sens, and ratified by the king; on which the other exiles, who had followed the fortunes of Becket, were introduced, and graciouſly received. Henry then deſired the archbiſhop to declare his forgiveneſs of all thoſe who had incurred his diſpleaſure in the late diſpute, as he had now forgiven all who had incurred his reſentment. But to this moſt reaſonable propoſal, the artful prelate, who meditated revenge againſt all his adverſaries, returned an evaſive anſwer; pretending that ſome of theſe perſons were more, and ſome of them leſs criminal; ſome of them were excommunicated by the pope, and ſome of them by other prelates; and

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and therefore he could only promiſe in general, that if any of them failed of obtaining forgiveneſs in the end, it would be his own fault [111].

Becket's agents ill received in England.

After this long expected peace was thus concluded, the archbiſhop diſpatched his agents into England, who carried with them letters from Henry to the young king, acquainting him with the concluſion of the peace, and commanding, that all their eſtates and poſſeſſions ſhould be reſtored to the archbiſhop and the other exiles [112]. When theſe agents had been ſome time in England, they wrote to Becket, that they had met with a very cold reception;—that every body ſhunned their company, and diſbelieved their report of the peace;—that when they preſented the royal mandate to the young king on the Monday after Michaelmas, he appointed them to return ten days after to receive an anſwer;—and concluded with adviſing him not to return to England until he had really regained the favour of the king [113]. The truth is, that Henry's reconciliation to Becket was far from being cordial, and therefore he was not very preſſing for the immediate execution of the conditions of it; and few imagined it would be of long continuance. That prelate, however, made bitter complaints to the king of this delay of reſtoring the poſſeſſions of his ſee, and tranſmitted the letters

[111] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. p. 46, 47.

[112] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1413.

[113] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 53.

of his agents to the pope, with whom he ſtood in the very higheſt degree of favour, and from whom he obtained authority to inflict the higheſt cenſures on his adverſaries, particularly on the archbiſhop of York for crowning the young king, and on the biſhops of London, Saliſbury, Rocheſter, &c. for aſſiſting at that ſolemnity [114]. This laſt favour was very agreeable to his vindictive temper, and he reſolved to uſe it in the moſt effectual manner; and he even ſolicited a power of inflicting the ſame cenſures on the king [115]. But it does not appear that this was granted. Cent. XII.

Becket had two conferences with the king after the concluſion of the peace; but as they were ſpent in mutual complaints, they contributed nothing to the reſtoration of real friendſhip [116]. At length having taken leave of his ſteady friend and patron the king of France, and of the prelates and nobles who had generouſly ſupported him and his friends in their exile, he ſet out from Sens about the middle of November, under the conduct of John of Oxford, one of his greateſt enemies, who was appointed by Henry to attend him into England, and arrived at Whitſand, a ſea-port in Flanders, towards the end of that month [117]. While he waited there for a fair wind, he found means to ſend over three bulls, one for

Becket, having ſent before him ſentences of excommunication and ſuſpenſion againſt ſeveral biſhops, lands in England.

114 Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 52. 54. 66, 67.
115 Id. ibid. Ep. 52. 116 Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 70.
117 Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 3. p. 110.

Cent. XII. ſuſpending the archbiſhop of York, and the other two for excommunicating the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, which were actually conveyed to theſe prelates. Nothing could be more inexcuſable than this conduct, as it was declaring war at the very moment he pretended to return in peace. Accordingly this action excited univerſal indignation againſt him, and proved the cauſe of his ruin. On the evening of the laſt day of November he ſailed from Whitſand, and landed next day at Sandwich, from which port he had departed ſix years and three weeks before; all which time he had ſpent in exile [118]. John of Oxford, though no real friend, protected him from the inſults of ſome armed men at his landing, who commanded him in a threatening tone to abſolve the excommunicated biſhops [119].

Troubles about the excommunicated biſhops.

The day after, he entered Canterbury in a kind of triumph, attended by a great crowd of the clergy and common people; and next morning he was waited upon by the agents of the biſhops who had been excommunicated, demanding their abſolution, which he refuſed [120]. On the return of their agents to Dover with this anſwer, theſe prelates determined to go over into Normandy, to implore the protection of their ſovereign againſt the violence of their primate. The young king was no leſs incenſed againſt Becket, as the ſevere cenſures which he had

[118] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 4. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 72.
[119] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 73. [120] Id. ibid.

inflicted on thoſe prelates for aſſiſting at his coronation ſeemed to call in queſtion its validity. He ſent ſome of the officers of his court to Canterbury to demand the abſolution of the biſhops; but in vain [121]. Cent. XII.

When Becket had reſted about eight days at Canterbury, where he had been viſited by very few perſons of rank, he ſet out with a deſign to wait upon the young king at Woodſtock, in order to appeaſe his anger, and regain his favour, by valuable preſents, and other means. As he approached London, of which he was a native, prodigious crowds of men, women, and children, came out to meet him, and conducted him through the city to his lodgings in Southwark with loud acclamations; in return for which he ſcattered amongſt them both money and epiſcopal benedictions. But his vanity was ſoon after mortified by a meſſage from the young king, forbidding him to proceed any further, or to enter any royal town or caſtle; and commanding him to return immediately to Canterbury, and confine himſelf within the precincts of his church [122]. After heſitating ſome time, he reſolved to comply with this meſſage; and returned to Canterbury, eſcorted by a company of armed men, to protect him from any ſudden aſſault. Here he reſided about a week in great ſolitude, receiving daily accounts of freſh inſults offered to his friends, Becket's progreſs from and return to Canterbury.

[121] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 73.
[122] Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 75.

Cent. XII. and depredations committed on his eſtates; which made him ſay to one of his greateſt confidents, That he was now convinced this quarrel would not end without blood; but that he was determined to die for the liberties of the church [123]. On Chriſtmas day he preached in the cathedral; and at the end of his ſermon pronounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt Ranulph de Broc (his great enemy), Robert de Broc, and almoſt all the king's moſt familiar ſervants, with viſible marks of the moſt violent anger in his voice and countenance [124].

Paſſionate expreſſion of the king.

When the archbiſhop of York, with the biſhops of London and Saliſbury, arrived in Normandy, they threw themſelves at the king's feet, and implored his protection from that diſgrace and ruin with which they were threatened by the primate, painting the violence of his proceedings againſt themſelves, and others, in ſuch ſtrong colours, that Henry fell into one of thoſe violent fits of paſſion to which he was liable. In the height of his fury he cried out,—"Shall "this fellow, who came to court on a lame "horſe, with all his eſtate in a wallet behind "him, trample upon his king, the royal family, "and the whole kingdom? Will none of all "thoſe lazy cowardly knights whom I main-"tain, deliver me from this turbulent prieſt [125]?"

[123] Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 78.

[124] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 10, p. 118.

[125] Id. ibid. p. 119.

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This paſſionate exclamation made too deep an impreſſion on ſome of thoſe who heard it, particularly on the four following barons, Reginald Fitz-Urſe, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morvile, and Richard Breto, who formed a reſolution, either to terrify the archbiſhop into ſubmiſſion, or to put him to death. Having laid their plan, they left the court at different times, and took different routes, to prevent ſuſpicion; but being conducted by the devil, as ſome monkiſh hiſtorians tell us, they all arrived at the caſtle of Ranulph de Broc, about ſix miles from Canterbury, on the ſame day, December 28th, and almoſt at the ſame hour[126]. Here they ſettled the whole ſcheme of their proceedings, and next morning early ſet out for Canterbury, accompanied by a body of reſolute men, with arms concealed under their clothes. Theſe men they placed in different parts of the city to prevent any interruption from the citizens. The four barons above named then went unarmed with twelve of their company, to the archiepiſcopal palace, about eleven o'clock forenoon, and were admitted into the apartment where the archbiſhop ſat converſing with ſome of his clergy. After their admiſſion, a long ſilence enſued, which was at length broken by Reginald Fitz-Urſe, who told the archbiſhop, that they were ſent by the king to command him to abſolve the prelates, and others, whom he had

Cent. XII. Becket killed.

[126] Stephanides Vita. S. Thomæ, p. 78, 79.

Cent. XII. excommunicated; and then to go to Winchester, and make satisfaction to the young king, whom he had endeavoured to dethrone [127]. On this a very long and violent altercation followed, in the course of which they gave several hints, that his life was in danger if he did not comply. But he remained undaunted in his refusal. At their departure they charged his servants not to allow him to flee; on which he cried out with great vehemence,—"Flee! I will never flee from any "man living. I am not come to flee, but to "defy the rage of impious assassins [128]." When they were gone, his friends blamed him for the roughness of his answers, which had inflamed the fury of his enemies, and earnestly pressed him to make his escape; but he only answered,—"I "have no need of your advice.—I know what I "ought to do." The barons with their accomplices, finding their threats were ineffectual, put on their coats of mail; and taking each a sword in his right hand, and an ax in his left, returned to the palace; but found the gate shut. When they were preparing to break it open, Robert de Broc conducted them up a back stair, and let them in at a window. A cry then arose, "they "are armed! they are armed!" on which the clergy hurried the archbishop almost by force into the church, hoping that the sacredness of the place would protect him from violence.

[127] Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ. p. 81.
[128] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 14.

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They would alſo have ſhut the door, but he cried out,—"Begone ye cowards! I charge you "on your obedience, do not ſhut the door. "What! will you make a caſtle of a church?" The conſpirators having ſearched the palace, came to the church, and one of them crying,—"Where is that traitor? where is the arch-"biſhop?" Becket advanced boldly and ſaid, "Here I am, an archbiſhop, but no traitor!" "Flee," cried the conſpirator, "or you are a "dead man." "I will never flee," replied Becket. William de Tracy then took hold of his robe, and ſaid, "you are my priſoner; come "along with me." But Becket ſeizing him by the collar, ſhook him with ſo much force, that he almoſt threw him down. De Tracy, enraged at this reſiſtance, aimed a blow with his ſword, which almoſt cut off the arm of one Edward Grim, a prieſt, and ſlightly wounded the arch-biſhop on the head. By three other blows given by the other three conſpirators, his ſcull was cloven almoſt in two, and his brains ſcattered about the pavement of the church [129]. Cent. XII.

Thus fell Thomas Becket, December 29th, A. D. 1170, in the fifty-third year of his age, and ninth of his pontificate. He was evidently a man of very great abilities, particularly of conſummate cunning, undaunted courage, and invincible conſtancy in the proſecution of his deſigns. Becket's character.

[129] Vita S. Thomæ, l. 3. c. 14—18. Stephanides Vita S. Thomæ, p. 81—87.

Cent. XII. But his ſchemes were of a moſt pernicious tendency, to emancipate the miniſters of religion from the reſtraints of law, and to ſubject his king and country to a foreign power. He was vain, obſtinate, and implacable; as little affected by the intreaties of his friends as by the threats of his enemies. His ingratitude to his royal benefactor admits of no excuſe, and hath fixed an indelible ſtain upon his character. Though his murderers were highly criminal, his death was very ſeaſonable, and probably prevented much miſchief and confuſion.

1171. Immediate effects of Becket's death.

Few events in hiſtory have made a greater noiſe than the murder of archbiſhop Becket. It was generally imputed to the commands of the king of England, and repreſented as the moſt execrable deed that ever had been perpetrated. The king of France, the earl of Blois, the archbiſhop of Sens, and ſeveral other prelates, wrote accounts of it to the pope, in the moſt tragical ſtrains, calling upon him to draw the ſword of St. Peter, and inflict ſome exquiſite puniſhment on "that horrible perſecutor of God, who exceeded Nero in cruelty, Julian in perfidy, and Judas in treachery [130]." But none expreſſed greater grief and horror at this deed than Henry himſelf, who broke out into the loudeſt lamentations, refuſed to ſee any company, to take any food, or admit of any conſolation for three days; of which he took care to have a pathetic narrative

[130] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 78. 80, 81.

tranſmitted

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tranſmitted to the pope by the biſhop of Lizieux, declaring his innocence in the ſtrongeſt terms, and intreating his holineſs to ſuſpend all cenſures till he had examined into the truth [131].

Negotiations of Henry's ambaſſadors at Rome ſucceſsful.

Not long after he ſent a numerous and ſplendid embaſſy to the papal court, to endeavour to prevent the dreaded ſentences of an interdict and excommunication. When the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived at Freſcati, where the pope then reſided, they met with nothing but frowns and threats. His holineſs refuſed to permit them to kiſs his feet, and few of the cardinals would admit them to an audience. They were alſo informed, that the pope deſigned to denounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt the king, and of an interdict againſt his dominions, on Maunday Thurſday, which was then approaching. To avert this terrible blow, they exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, and in particular laid out a very great ſum of money with ſo much judgment, that they gained many friends, and even obtained ſeveral audiences of the pope, in which they pleaded their prince's cauſe ſo well, that the intended ſentences were not pronounced [132]. Before they obtained this very eſſential favour, four of the ambaſſadors took a ſolemn oath, that the king would ſubmit to the pleaſure of his holineſs; and the pope engaged to ſend two legates into Normandy, to ſettle the terms of his reconciliation to the church. In a

[131] Epiſt. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 79.

[132] Id. ibid. Ep. 83, 84.

word,

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word, the diſpoſitions of the papal court were ſo entirely changed, that the pope was prevailed upon to write a letter to Henry, in very friendly terms, and to abſolve the Engliſh biſhops whom Becket had excommunicated [133].

1172. Accommodation between Henry and the court of Rome.

Henry being thus relieved from his apprehenſions of the thunders of the church, which in thoſe days of darkneſs and ſuperſtition made the greateſt monarchs tremble, left Normandy, and arrived in England (Auguſt 7th), where he found every thing in profound tranquillity [134]. His expedition into Ireland, in which he immediately engaged, engroſſed all his thoughts, and ſuſpended his negotiations with the papal court for almoſt a whole year. In the mean time his holineſs nominated the two cardinals, Albert and Theodwin, to be his legates, for terminating this long and violent conteſt with the king of England. Though Henry had made great progreſs in the conqueſt of Ireland, and earneſtly deſired to ſtay ſome months longer in that iſland, in order to finiſh that important buſineſs; yet he no ſooner heard of the arrival of theſe legates in his continental dominions, than he haſtened through England into Normandy, where he landed in the beginning of September. In the firſt conferences the terms propoſed by the two cardinals appeared ſo hard, that Henry threatened to break off the treaty, and return to Ireland.

[133] Epiſt. S. Thomæ. l. 5. Ep. 84.
[134] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1419.

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But at length, all the conditions were amicably settled at Avranches, September 18th, A. D. 1172, when the king, in the presence of the legates, and of a great assembly of princes, prelates, nobles, and others, swore on the gospels, and the relics of the saints, in the church of St. Andrew, "that he had neither commanded nor "desired the death of the archbishop of Can-"terbury, and that when he heard it he was very "much grieved." But as he was afraid that his passionate expressions had excited the murderers of the archbishop to perpetrate that horrid deed, he consented to the following conditions to atone for his offence, and to procure a full reconciliation with the church: 1. To give to the knights templars as much money as would pay two hundred knights for one year to serve in the Holy Land; and, at next Christmas, to take the cross, and go in person into the Holy Land the following summer, unless he obtained a dispensation from the pope. 2. To permit appeals to be made to the pope, in good faith, and without fraud; but if he suspected any of the appellants of ill intentions, he might oblige them to give security that they would attempt nothing to the detriment of him or his kingdom. 3. To abolish such evil customs against the church as had been introduced in his own time. 4. To restore all the possessions of the church of Canterbury, and of all the clergy and laity of both sexes who had been deprived of their estates on account of the late archbishop. Both the king and his son at the same

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Cent. XII. same time swore, that they would adhere to pope Alexander as long as he treated them as Christian and Catholic kings [135]. Thus terminated this memorable struggle between the crown and mitre, less to the disadvantage of the former than could have been expected.

Disputes about the election of an archbishop.

The next ecclesiastical affair that engaged the attention of the king and kingdom, was the choice of an archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of England, towards which some steps were taken immediately after the young king's return from Normandy. Odo prior of Canterbury was called to court to consult about this matter; but he pretended, that the monks of that cathedral had the sole right of electing an archbishop, to the exclusion both of the king and the bishops of the province. On this he was sent home to deliberate more maturely on this matter, with the monks of his convent, and to report the result of their deliberations. At his return to court, about three weeks after, he reported that the monks would not relinquish their claim. He was then commanded to wait upon the old king in Normandy; with which he complied. On his arrival there, Henry dreading, that if the choice of an archbishop was left to the monks, who were professed admirers of Becket, it would fall upon some person of the

[135] Epist. S. Thomæ, l. 5. Ep. 88, 89. Vita S. Thomæ, p. 147, 148. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 303, 304. Gervas apud X Script. col. 1423, 1422.

ſame principles, exerted every art in his power to prevail upon Odo to conſent to the election of the biſhop of Baieux, who was a man of a gentle and flexible diſpoſition. He even deſcended to the moſt humble and earneſt intreaties, that he would take pity upon him, and not drive him to commit ſome greater crime than he had yet committed. But all his intreaties were in vain: the hard-hearted monk remained inflexible, and returned to England. About the end of this year an aſſembly was held at London for the election of an archbiſhop; but the monks ſtill inſiſting on their excluſive right to elect, it broke up without effect [136]. Cent. XII.

1173. Several vacant ſees filled, and Richard prior of Dover elected archbiſhop.

When the monks returned to Canterbury, beginning to fear that if they continued to adhere ſtrictly to their claim, ſome violent meaſures would be adopted, they held a chapter, in which it was agreed to propoſe three perſons to the king, of which he might chuſe one to be the archbiſhop. This propoſal was accordingly made to Richard de Lucy, high juſticiary and regent of the kingdom; who embraced it with joy, and called an aſſembly of the biſhops and monks at London in February; in which Roger abbot of Bec was unanimouſly elected. But this election, after it had been confirmed by the king, was defeated by the obſtinate refuſal of the abbot to accept of the dignity to which he had been

[136] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1422, 1423.

choſen.

Cent. XII. choſen[137]. On this another aſſembly of the biſhops and monks met at London, about the end of April, in which the ſix ſees of Wincheſter, Ely, Hereford, Bath, Chicheſter, and Lincoln, were filled up by the following perſons, Richard de Iviceſtre archdeacon of Poictiers, Geoffrey Redel archdeacon (commonly called by Becket archdevil) of Canterbury, Robert Foliot, Reginald, ſon of Joceline biſhop of Saliſbury, John of Greenford, and Geoffrey, the king's natural ſon by the fair Roſamond. Theſe perſons were all very agreeable to the king, and ſome of them had been the moſt active enemies of the late primate. But when the aſſembly proceeded to elect an archbiſhop, the diſpute between the monks and biſhops revived, and though various expedients were propoſed, it could not be compromiſed. The chief juſticiary, having taken ſome private meaſures to make the choice of the monks to fall upon a perſon who he knew would not be diſagreeable to the king, ventured to call a third aſſembly to meet at London in the beginning of June. After ſeveral ſeſſions, and very warm debates, the monks, June 8th, propoſed Richard prior of Dover to be their archbiſhop; who being approved of by the biſhops, and by the chief juſticiary, in the king's name, was declared duly elected. The archbiſhop-elect made his public entry into Canterbury, on Saturday,

[137] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1423, 1424.

turday, June 14th; and was to have been conſecrated the day after; which was prevented by a very unexpected obſtacle. The biſhops who attended to aſſiſt at the conſecration, received a letter from the young king, who was then in open rebellion againſt his father, proteſting againſt the late election, and acquainting them that he had appealed againſt it to the pope. After ſome debate, it was agreed to delay the conſecration, and that the archbiſhop-elect ſhould go to Rome to proſecute his own cauſe, and the cauſe of the other biſhops lately elected, againſt whom the young king had alſo proteſted and appealed [138]. Cent. XII.

When the elect of Canterbury arrived at Rome, he found the papal court very much divided between the parties of Henry and his rebellious ſons. After he had waited long, and ſpent much money, his election was confirmed; and he was conſecrated on the Sunday after Eaſter A. D. 1174, by the pope, who alſo appointed him his legate in England [139]. On his return from Rome, he had an interview (which ſeems to have been accidental) with the king, in the month of Auguſt, at a public houſe near Caen in Normandy, where they dined together, and then ſeparated. The archbiſhop made his public entry into Canterbury in a kind of triumph, October 10th, and the next day conſecrated

1174. Richard, being conſecrated at Rome, returns to England.

[138] Gervas apud X Script. col. 1424, 1425, 1426. Hoveden. Annal. fol. 307.

[139] Id. ibid. p. 308, col. 1.

Cent. XII. secrated the biſhops who had been lately elected [140].

1175. Tranſactions of a council at Weſtminſter.

The civil wars being now happily terminated by a pacification between Henry and his ſons, the archbiſhop held a council of the Engliſh clergy at Weſtminſter, May 28th, in which eighteen canons were promulgated, and confirmed by the authority of both kings and of the barons of the kingdom, who were preſent in the council. There was little new or very remarkable in theſe canons. By the firſt, the celibacy of all the clergy above the rank of ſubdeacons was commanded, and the ſucceſſion of ſons to their fathers in the ſame churches forbidden: a ſufficient proof that all the ſevere canons that had been made againſt the marriages of the clergy had hitherto been ineffectual. By the fourth, archdeacons were authoriſed to crop ſuch of the clergy as wore long hair. By the other canons, churchmen were forbidden—to frequent public houſes,—to bear civil offices,—to take farms,—to carry arms, &c. &c [141]. The archbiſhop of York was not preſent at this council; but ſent ſome of his clergy to claim a right to carry his croſs erect within the province of Canterbury, and to demand the ſubjection of the biſhops of Hereford, Lincoln, Worceſter, and Cheſter, to him as their metropolitan; and upon theſe claims being rejected, they, in his name, appealed to the pope [142]. The clergy of

[140] Gervas, col. 1427, 1428.

[141] Id. col. 1436, &c.

[142] Hoveden. Annal. p. 511.

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the dioceſe of St. Aſaph complained to the council againſt Godfrey their biſhop for non-reſidence, and he was obliged to reſign his biſhopric [143]. After the council was diſſolved, the two kings accompanied the archbiſhop to Canterbury, to return their united thanks for the late pacification to St. Thomas Becket, who had been canonized about two years before, and now eclipſed all the ſaints in heaven, by the fame of his miracles and the reputation of his power [144]. The ſincerity of Henry's devotion towards this new ſaint, who had long been his moſt dangerous and deteſted enemy, may be juſtly doubted. Cent. XII.

About the end of October A. D. 1175, cardinal Hugo, who had been appointed by the pope his legate *a latere*, landed in England; and, with the king's permiſſion, made a progreſs into many parts of the kingdom, viſiting the richer churches and abbeys. "As his buſineſs "(ſays a contemporary hiſtorian) was, to root "out and to plant, he performed it very dili-"gently, by rooting out money from the purſes "of others, and planting it in his own cof-"fers [145]." The king had ſolicited this legation from the pope, in order, as it was given out, to terminate the diſputes between the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York; but, in reality (as it was ſurmiſed), to procure a divorce 1176. Legate ſent into England.

[143] Hoveden, Annal. p. 311.
[144] Gervas, col. 1432.
[145] Id. col. 1433.

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from his queen, who had inſtigated her ſons to their late rebellion. Towards this however he took no public ſtep [146]. The controverſies of the two prelates were referred to the archbiſhop of Rouen, and ſome foreign biſhops, and they were enjoined to ſuſpend all diſputes on theſe ſubjects for five years [147].

Quarrel between the archbiſhops of York and Canterbury.

But notwithſtanding this injunction, their animoſity broke out with the moſt indecent violence, at a council ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter in the middle of Lent A. D. 1176. For when the legate had taken his ſeat, a ſtruggle enſued between the two archbiſhops about the ſeat next to him on the right hand, in which the followers of the archbiſhop of Canterbury interpoſed, threw down his antagoniſt of York, and trampled upon him with their feet. This occaſioned ſo great a tumult, that the legate retired in a fright, and the council broke up in confuſion. Both prelates appealed to the pope, and complained to the king; who at firſt was much incenſed at the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but, upon better information, and cooler thought, he laboured to reconcile the two enraged prelates; in which he at laſt ſucceeded, both of them withdrawing their appeals, and promiſing to live in peace. The legate was ſo much diſguſted, that he haſtened out of England [148].

[146] Gervas, col. 143. [147] Hoveden, Annal. p. 313.
[148] Hoveden, Annal. p. 315. col. 1. Gervas, col. 1433, 1434.

A ſchiſm

A ſchiſm which had ſubſiſted in the church of Rome almoſt eighteen years, was terminated in the courſe of this year, by the degradation of Calextus the antipope, and the ſubmiſſion of Frederic emperor of Germany to pope Alexander. At an interview between the emperor and the pope, in the city of Venice, July 24th, A. D. 1177, this important tranſaction was concluded; and the former paid certain honours to the latter (ſuch as giving him the right hand in all proceſſions, and holding his ſtirrup when he mounted); with which he was highly pleaſed, and of which he wrote a pompous account to the two Engliſh archbiſhops[149]. The eccleſiaſtical events which happened in England in this and the ſucceeding year, were neither ſingular nor important.

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1177. Schiſm in the papacy terminated.

The extinction of the late ſchiſm which had ſo long ſubſiſted in the church, added not a little to the power and wealth, as well as to the ſatisfaction, of the victorious pontiff, who determined to make the beſt uſe of this favourable event. With this view he ſent his legates into all the countries in communion with the church of Rome, and particularly into Normandy, England, Scotland, and Ireland, to ſummon the archbiſhops, biſhops, and abbots, to attend a general council at Rome in the time of Lent this year[150]. From ſeveral Scotch and Iriſh bi-

1179. General council at Rome.

149 Gervas, col. 1439. Hoveden, p. 325. col. 1.

150 Chron. J. Brompt. inter X Script. col. 1138.

Cent. XII. ſhops who paſſed through England in their way to this council, Henry exacted an oath, that they would attempt nothing againſt him, or his kingdom; and that they would return the ſame way [151]. So attentive were princes in thoſe times to all the motions of the clergy. Only four Engliſh biſhops, thoſe of Durham, Oxford, Hereford, and Bath, repaired to this council, as the Engliſh prelates claimed a privilege of being repreſented by four of their number in all general councils. But this claim was not ſuſtained, and the abſent prelates were obliged to pay conſiderable ſums of money to prevent their being cenſured; to obtain which money, is ſaid by contemporary writers, to have been one great object of calling this council [152]. Pope Alexander opened the council in the church of St. John de Lateran, March 5th, A. D. 1179, with great pomp, attended by the whole college of cardinals, by the magiſtrates and nobles of Rome, by the ambaſſadors of the emperor, and of all the kings and princes of the Weſtern church, by three hundred and ten biſhops, beſides a prodigious number of abbots and inferior clergy. In the third ſeſſion, which was held March 21ſt, thirty-three canons were publiſhed, and received the ſanction of the council [153]. Theſe canons are too long to be here inſerted, and have no

[151] Chron. J. Brompt. inter X Script. col. 1138.
[152] Hoveden, p. 332. col. 2. G. Neubrigenſ. l. 3. c. 2.
[153] Id. l. 3. c. 3. Diceto, col. 63. J. Brompt. col. 113.

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particular reference to the church of England. Some of them contain very wiſe and juſt regulations; while others carry the uſurpations of the papacy over the prerogatives of princes and the rights of conſcience, to the moſt impious and daring height. Cent. XII.

The fame of St. Thomas Becket for working miracles, increaſed with ſo much rapidity, that by this time he was more celebrated on that account than any other ſaint. This brought prodigious numbers of perſons of all ranks, and from different countries, to Canterbury, to perform their devotions, and obtain cures for themſelves or friends. The king of France, his old friend and patron, being in great anxiety about the life of his only ſon Philip, who had fallen into a dangerous ſickneſs, reſolved to apply to him for help, and came into England, attended by the earl of Flanders, and many other nobles. He was received with great reſpect by Henry on his landing at Dover, Auguſt 22d, A. D. 1179, and conducted to the tomb of Becket, where he performed his devotions, and preſented a chalice of gold, with a grant of one hundred caſks of wine annually to the monks of the cathedral[154]. At his return to the continent, he received the agreeable news of his ſon's recovery, which was univerſally aſcribed to the prayers and merits of St. Thomas, and greatly increaſed his fame. The church-hiſtory of England in the three next

King of France pays his devotions at the ſhrine of Becket.

[154] Hoveden, Annal. p. 338. J. Brompt. col. 1140.

Cent. XII. years, contains nothing but the ſucceſſions of prelates, and matters of little moment.

A.D.1183. Clergy endeavour to reconcile Henry and his ſons.

An unnatural war having this year broken out between Henry and his ſons, Richard archbiſhop of Canterbury, with Waleran biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſeveral Norman biſhops and abbots, held a council at Caen in Normandy, by a mandate from the pope; in which, on Aſcenſion-day, they denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt all who diſturbed the peace of the elder Henry, except the young king[155]. About the ſame time the archbiſhop wrote a letter to that prince, expoſtulating with him on the folly and iniquity of his conduct, earneſtly intreating him to return to his duty, and concluding with an aſſurance, that if he did not do this in fifteen days, he, as well as his followers, would be excommunicated[156].

1184. Archbiſhop Richard's death and character.

Theſe were ſome of the laſt tranſactions in which Richard archbiſhop of Canterbury was engaged. For he died, after a ſhort illneſs, February 16th, A. D. 1184, in the eleventh year of his pontificate[157]. He appears to have been a prelate of a mild temper, innocent life, and moderate principles, condemning the unreaſonable immunities of the clergy, for which his predeceſſor had contended with ſo much violence, as equally pernicious to church and ſtate[158].

Succeeded by Baldwin biſhop of Worceſter.

155 Hoveden, p. 354. col. 1.
156 Epiſtol. P. Bleſenſ. Ep. 47. p. 69.
157 Hoveden, p. 355.
158 Epiſtol. P. Bleſenſ. Ep. 73. p. 109.

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This made him no great favourite of the monks, who repreſent him as too indolent, timid, and complying. Henry had been ſo much aſſiſted by the late primate, that he was impatient to ſee his place ſupplied by a perſon of ſimilar principles; and having fixed on Baldwin biſhop of Worceſter, he earneſtly laboured to bring about his election. In this he met with great oppoſition from the monks of Canterbury; but at length, after ſeveral meetings, this oppoſition was overcome, and Baldwin was elected [159]. Cent. XII.

1185. Henry declines to comply with the intreaties of the patriarch of Jeruſalem.

About the beginning of this year, Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, with the grand maſter of the knights-hoſpitalers, arrived in England; and being introduced to Henry at Reading, and falling at his feet, moſt earneſtly intreated him to come to the protection of the Holy Land, which was in danger of being loſt; preſenting him at the ſame time with the keys of Jeruſalem and of the holy ſepulchre; together with a moſt pathetic letter from the pope, exhorting him to undertake that expedition. Henry raiſed them from the ground, with many expreſſions of kindneſs and ſympathy, promiſing to give them an anſwer when he had conſulted his great council, which was to meet on the firſt Sunday of Lent, at London [160]. By this aſſembly, which was very full, the king was adviſed not to engage in an expedition into the Holy Land, till he had conſulted with the king of France; which

[159] Hoveden, Annal. p. 356. [160] Id. p. 359.

Cent. XII. was given as an anſwer to the two ambaſſadors [161]. But that they might not have reaſon to complain that their application had been altogether unſucceſsful, Henry promiſed them an aid of fifty thouſand marks; and gave a permiſſion to ſuch of his ſubjects as pleaſed to take the croſs [162].

1186. Diſpute between the primate and the monks of Canterbury.

About this time a quarrel began between Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the monks of his cathedral, which made a mighty noiſe, and continued ſeveral years. The archbiſhop, offended perhaps at the keen oppoſition that had been made by the monks to his election, early diſcovered a diſpoſition to diminiſh their wealth and abridge their power. With this view he reſolved to erect a magnificent church and convent at Hackington, without the walls of Canterbury, to dedicate it to St. Thomas Becket, and to fill it with ſecular canons. For this purpoſe he not only obtained the king's conſent, but he alſo procured a bull from the pope, Urban III. authoriſing his intended erection, and granting him a fourth of all the oblations at the tomb of St. Thomas Becket to aſſiſt him in building the church [163]. On this the work was immediately begun, and carried on with great rapidity; at which the monks of Canterbury were very much alarmed. For they not only grudged that ſhare of the oblations granted by the pope, but began

[161] Hoveden, Annal. p. 359. Diceto, col. 626.
[162] Hoveden, p. 359. [163] Diceto, col. 631.

to ſuſpect that the archbiſhop intended to remove the ſeat of his ſee, and perhaps the precious remains of their favourite ſaint, to his new church and convent. Excited by theſe ſuſpicions, they filled the whole kingdom with their clamours, as if the church, and even the Chriſtian religion, had been in danger. They complained to the king; but met with no redreſs. They then appealed to the pope, and notified their appeal to the archbiſhop, December 20th, A. D. 1186, in hopes that he would have deſiſted from his works. But he was ſo far from doing this, that he ſuſpended the prior and monks, who had notified the appeal. The king made ſeveral attempts to perſuade the monks to refer their diſputes with the primate to him, or to the biſhops of the province. But all theſe attempts were fruitleſs, and they proſecuted their appeal with ſo much vigour, that they obtained a bull from the ſame pope Urban, commanding the archbiſhop to reſtore the prior and monks, and to ſtop his works, which was intimated to him, March 25th, A. D. 1187. This bull was diſregarded by Baldwin, who proceeded with greater haſte than ever to finiſh his buildings, having ſent Peter of Blois, and ſome other learned men, to Rome to vindicate his conduct. As a perfect concord at this time ſubſiſted between the king and the archbiſhop, the latter was ſupported in this conteſt by all the power of the crown; and Ralph de Glanvile, chief juſticiary, iſſued two writs, one commanding the prior and monks to

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Cent. XII. deſiſt from proſecuting their appeal to the pope, and the other citing them to appear before himſelf at London. Encouraged by this powerful patronage, the primate ſeized all the poſſeſſions of the prior and monks; who ſent a deputation of their number to complain to the king, in Normandy, of this violence; and alſo made another application to the pope. Urban, greatly enraged at the contempt with which his former mandate had been treated, ſent a thundering bull to Baldwin (dated October 12th, A. D. 1187), commanding him to demoliſh all his buildings at Hackington, to deſecrate the ground on which they had been erected, and reſtore all their poſſeſſions to the monks. He ſent at the ſame time a moſt inſolent epiſtle to the king, commanding him to oblige the archbiſhop to ſubmit to the above bull. When theſe letters were delivered to the king and primate, their countenances fell (ſays the monkiſh hiſtorian), and they began to ſpeak to the monks in a kind and ſoothing ſtrain. But this dejection was not of long continuance. For in a few days the news arrived, that Urban was dead, and that cardinal Albert, a particular friend of the archbiſhop, was choſen pope, and had aſſumed the name of Gregory III. On this the primate reſumed courage; and reſolving to bring the refractory monks to ſubmiſſion, he ſhut them up priſoners in their convent, and excommunicated the ſub-prior, and ſome others. When they were in this confinement, the king and the primate ſent ſeveral agents to prevail upon

upon them, both by threats and promiſes, to withdraw their appeals, and give their conſent to the new erection at Hackington. But they remained undaunted in their oppoſition, and ſuſpended all divine ſervice in the cathedral, being encouraged by the citizens of Canterbury, who ſupplied them plentifully with neceſſaries, and even delicacies. When things had continued in this ſtate about two months, the news arrived of another change at the court of Rome, by the death of Gregory, and the election of Clement III. who was as great a friend to the monks as the former had been to the primate. The ſcene was now entirely changed. Clement iſſued a bull, dated February 26th, A. D. 1188, commanding Baldwin to demoliſh all his works at Hackington, and to repair all the damages he had done to the monks at Canterbury. When this bull was diſregarded, another was iſſued, dated March 16th, commanding the abbot of Feverſham to excommunicate all perſons who had any of the goods or eſtates of the convent in their poſſeſſion; which that abbot performed. But the excommunicated were ſo powerfully ſupported by the king and primate, that they treated that higheſt cenſure with contempt. Honorius, the prior of Canterbury, who had long reſided at the papal court to proſecute his appeals, prevailed upon pope Clement to appoint the biſhop of Oſtea his legate *a latere*, and ſend him into England to ſee his bulls executed in their full extent. But when the legate and prior were pre-

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preparing for their journey, they were both ſeized with, and died of the plague, which then raged with great violence at Rome. A ſecond legate was appointed, who died on his journey at Pavia, in December A. D. 1188. The partiſans of the archbiſhop were much elated by theſe events, giving out, that heaven had eſpouſed his cauſe, and that he had wrought ſeveral miracles. But the irreſiſtible power of the pope at length prevailed, and the archbiſhop, after a brave ſtruggle of more than three years, was obliged to demoliſh all the buildings he had erected at Hackington; and the pertinacious monks, fighting under the papal banner, obtained a complete victory over their ſovereign and their primate [164].

Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Scotland.

THE hiſtory of the church of Scotland in the reigns of Malcolm the Maiden, and William the Lion, who were contemporaries with Henry II. is ſo imperfectly preſerved, that it doth not merit very much attention. Robert biſhop of St. Andrew's died A. D. 1159, and was ſucceeded by Arnold abbot of Kelſo; who ſurvived only one year and ten months. Richard, one of the king's chaplains, was choſen to ſucceed him. But Roger, archbiſhop of York, claiming a right to perform the ceremony of his conſecration, he was not conſecrated till about two years after, by the biſhops of Scotland [165]. The archbiſhop complained of this to the court of Rome,

164 Gervas, col. 1488—1550.

165 Spottiſwoode, p. 36.

and

and was appointed the pope's legate in Scotland; against which the Scotch clergy made very ſtrong remonſtrances, and at length obtained a bull from Alexander III. A. D. 1165, diveſting the primate of York of his legantine authority [166]. Cent. XII.

Archbiſhop of York declared primate of Scotland.

The independency of the church of Scotland, as well as of the kingdom, was endangered by the unfortunate captivity of William the Lion. In the treaty of peace indeed, A. D. 1174, on which that prince obtained his liberty, it was only ſtipulated, "That the church of Scotland "ſhould yield that ſubjection to the church of "England that it had been accuſtomed to yield "in the reigns of former kings [167]." But though by this article of the treaty, the controverſy between the churches of England and Scotland ſeemed to be left upon its former footing; yet king William was prevailed upon, by means now unknown, to write a letter to the pope, A. D. 1175, acknowledging, that the church of Scotland had in former times been ſubject to the archbiſhops of York, and that the church of York had been deprived of the exerciſe of its authority by force; and praying his holineſs to reſtore that church to the poſſeſſion of its rights. In conſequence of this letter the pope iſſued a bull, ſubjecting the church of Scotland to the primacy of the archbiſhops of York [168].

166 Spottiſwoode, p. 36. Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 461.
167 Diceto, col. 584. Brompt. col. 1104.
168 Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 481, 482.

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The clergy of Scotland refuse to acknowledge the primacy of York.

The clergy of Scotland did not tamely acquiesce in this decision. For at a great council held at Northampton, A. D. 1176, by cardinal Huguzon, the pope's legate, where the kings of England and Scotland, and the chief nobility and clergy of both kingdoms, were present; when the Scotch prelates were required to make their submission to the archbishop of York as their primate, agreeable to the article of the late treaty, to which they had sworn, they denied that the clergy of Scotland had ever been accustomed to pay such submission to that see; and affirmed, that they were not obliged to pay it [169]. One Gilbert, a young canon of Glasgow, is said to have gained great honour on this occasion, by his bold and eloquent defence of the immunities of the church of Scotland; for which he was soon after made bishop of Caithness and chancellor of the kingdom [170]. Roger archbishop of York supported his pretensions with much spirit, and no small evidence; but by the influence of his great adversary Richard archbishop of Canterbury, the Scotch prelates were allowed to depart without making any submission [171].

Council of Edinburgh.

The clergy of Scotland, in order to guard against the encroachments of their neighbour of York, solicited the pope to send a legate into their country to determine this controversy. In compliance with this application, his holiness

169 Hoveden, Annal. p. 315.

170 Fordun, p. 714. Boeth. l. 12. p. 272. Leslæus, l. 6.

171 Hoveden, Annal. p. 315.

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dispatched cardinal Vivian, with a legantine commission over Scotland, Ireland, and Norway [172]. When the legate arrived in Scotland, he held a council of the prelates and clergy of that kingdom in the castle of Edinburgh, then called the *Castle of Maidens*, August 1st, 1177. The canons of this council are not preserved, though we are told in general, that it revived some old and made some new constitutions [173]. Christian bishop of Whithorn was suspended from the exercise of the episcopal office by this council, for refusing to come to it, and pretending that he was a suffragan of the archbishop of York [174]. Immediately after the dismission of the council of Edinburgh, Vivian was recalled by the pope, on many complaints of his avarice and extortions from the clergy, in the several countries of his legation [175]. Cent. XII.

Disputes about the election of a bishop of St. Andrew's.

Richard bishop of St. Andrew's having died A. D. 1178, a violent dispute arose about the choice of his successor, which continued several years. The monks made a hasty election, and chose John Scot, an Englishman, their archdeacon, to be their bishop. The king (William the Lion), much offended at their presumption, swore by the arm of St. James, that Scot should never enjoy that bishopric, and commanded them to proceed to a new election, recommending Hugo, one of his chaplains, and

172 Brompt. col. 1110. 173 Concil. Wilkin, t. 1. p. 486.
174 Brompton, col. 1111.
175 Id. ibid. Chron. de Mailros, p. 173.

Cent. XII. ſending Joceline biſhop of Glaſgow to ſuperintend their conduct. In obedience to the royal mandate, a ſecond election was made, in preſence of biſhop Joceline, and Hugo was choſen. John Scot, not willing to relinquiſh his right, appealed to the pope; who confirmed his election, and ſent Alexius, ſubdeacon of Rome, as his legate into Scotland, A. D. 1180, to ſee him conſecrated. Alexius met with much oppoſition in the execution of his commiſſion; for which he excommunicated ſome clergymen of the royal party, and laid the whole biſhopric of St. Andrew's under an interdict. This legate held a council of the biſhops, abbots, and clergy of Scotland, 18th June A. D. 1180, in the church of the Holy Croſs, near the caſtle of Maidens, or Edinburgh, at which John Scot was conſecrated biſhop of St. Andrew's, by Matthew biſhop of Aberdeen, his uncle, with great pomp, and Hugo his competitor was depoſed [176]. But it was not in the power of the papal legate to give the revenues of the ſee of St. Andrew's to the new biſhop; who, finding himſelf with only the name, without the power or poſſeſſions of a biſhop, and expoſed to the indignation of the king and his courtiers, left the country, and returned to Rome to renew his complaints; which were favourably heard [177]. For Alexander III. irritated at the oppoſition that had been given to his legate, excommunicated Hugo for

[176] Hoveden. Annal. p. 341. [177] Chron. Mailros, p. 174, 175.

refuſing

refuſing to reſign his pretenſions, and to ſurrender the paſtoral ſtaff and ring [178]. The pope alſo appointed Roger archbiſhop of York and Hugo biſhop of Durham his legates in Scotland, with authority to excommunicate the king of Scotland, and to lay his whole kingdom under an interdict, if he refuſed to admit John Scot to the peaceable enjoyment of his biſhopric. He alſo wrote to the king, acquainting him with the authority he had given to his legates, and threatening to confirm their ſentences of excommunication and interdict, if he did not receive biſhop Scot into his favour, within twenty days after he received that letter. William was ſo far from complying with theſe papal dictates, that he baniſhed biſhop Scot, Matthew biſhop of Aberdeen, who had conſecrated him, and all the clergy who acknowledged him for their biſhop, together with all their friends and relations: on which the legates pronounced the dreaded ſentences of excommunication and interdict [179]. When William king of Scotland was in Normandy, A. D. 1181, he ſent ambaſſadors to Rome with the following propoſals for accommodation,—That the biſhop of Aberdeen ſhould be reſtored to all his poſſeſſions; and that biſhop Scot ſhould be allowed to return to Scotland, to enjoy the preferments he had before his election, with a penſion of forty marks a-year, and ſhould have the firſt biſhopric that became vacant. But Cent. XII.

[178] Hoveden, Annal. p. 342. [179] Id. ibid.

Cent. XII. theſe propoſals were rejected by the pope [180]. However, Alexander III. the great friend and patron of biſhop Scot, having died September 20th, A. D. 1181, and Roger archbiſhop of York, his other chief protector, having alſo died November 21ſt, the king was encouraged to renew his negotiations for an accommodation with the church, and ſent Joceline biſhop of Glaſgow, with the abbots of Melroſs and Kelſo, his ambaſſadors to Rome for that purpoſe. Theſe ambaſſadors met with a very favourable reception from the new pope, Lucius III. and were ſo ſucceſsful in their negotiations, that they procured a bull, dated March 18th, A. D. 1182, removing the interdict, and abſolving the king and all his ſubjects who had been excommunicated [181]. As a further proof of his regard, the pope ſent a roſe of gold, with his benediction, to the king; and appointed Rolland biſhop of Dol, and Silvanus abbot of Recval, his legates, to determine the controverſy between the two pretenders to the ſee of St. Andrews [182]. The king, by theſe legates, offered to biſhop Scot the biſhopric of Dunkeld, the chancellorſhip of the kingdom, and a penſion of forty marks, if he would reſign his pretenſions to the ſee of St. Andrews. Biſhop Scot agreed to accept of theſe terms, on condition that his rival Hugo alſo reſigned his pretenſions. But the king being

180 Hoveden, Annal. p. 350. 181 Id. ibid.
182 Chron. de Mailros, p. 175. Hoveden, Annal. p. 352.

either

either unable or unwilling to perſuade Hugo to make that reſignation, the legates ſummoned both the pretenders to appear before the pope [183]. They accordingly appeared before his holineſs at Viletrie, A. D. 1183, and were both commanded to reſign the biſhopric of St. Andrews into the pope's hands; with which they complied. A few days after, the pope, in a full conſiſtory of all the cardinals, reſtored and confirmed the biſhopric of St. Andrews to Hugo, and granted the biſhopric of Dunkeld, with every thing the king of Scotland had promiſed, to biſhop Scot. Both prelates returned ſoon after to Scotland, and took poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſees [184]. But this violent and dangerous controverſy, which ſeemed now to be finally terminated, was renewed not long after, and took a different turn. For biſhop Scot being much diſſatisfied with the deciſion of pope Lucius, and hoping for more favour from his ſucceſſor Urban III. complained, that ſome of his goods had not been reſtored to him, according to agreement, and therefore renewed his claim to the biſhopric of St. Andrews. Urban received this complaint and claim; and ſummoned biſhop Hugo to appear before him, to defend his title to the diſputed biſhopric; and gave a commiſſion to Joceline biſhop of Glaſgow, with the abbots of Melroſs, Newbottle, and Dunfermline, firſt to ſuſpend him if he did not obey the papal ſummons, and if, after that, he Cent. XII.

[183] Hoveden, Annal. p. 353. [184] Id. p. 355.

Cent. XII. continued refractory, to pronounce the more formidable ſentence of excommunication. In conſequence of this commiſſion, and of Hugo's diſobedience, theſe legates pronounced firſt a ſentence of ſuſpenſion againſt him, and afterwards a ſentence of excommunication [185]. Pope Clement III. by a bull, dated at Piſa, January 16th, A. D. 1188, declared the ſee of St. Andrews vacant, and directed the above legates to command the chapter to proceed to the election of a biſhop, and to uſe all their influence to make their choice to fall on biſhop Scot. At the ſame time he wrote—to the clergy of St. Andrews, to receive Scot as their biſhop,—to the king of Scotland, no longer to oppoſe that prelate,—to the king of England, to perſuade William by arguments, or to compel him by force, to admit Scot to the peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſee of St. Andrews [186]. But all theſe bulls were ineffectual: for biſhop Scot finding that the averſion of the king was invincible, and that he could not enjoy the biſhopric to which he had ſo long aſpired in peace, made a ſecond reſignation of it; and Hugo going to Rome, was abſolved from the ſentences of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, and reſtored to the long-litigated biſhopric. But he did not long ſurvive this favourable turn in his affairs; for being ſeized by the plague, which then raged at Rome, he died in the month of Auguſt A. D. 1188 [187].

185 Hoveden, Annal. p. 361.
186 Id. p. 368, 369.
187 Id. p. 370.

Thus

Thus ended this long and violent conteſt between the courts of Rome and Scotland, in which William the Lion acted with great ſpirit and firmneſs. But his ſucceſs ſeems to have been partly owing to the ſeaſonable death of that haughty inflexible pontiff, Alexander III. and to the character of John Scot, who had neither the courage, abilities, not obſtinacy of a Becket. Roger, a near relation of the king, and ſon of Robert earl of Leiceſter, was elected biſhop of St. Andrews, April 13th, A. D. 1189. John Scot biſhop of Dunkeld was preſent at, and conſenting to, his election [188]. Cent. XII.

SECTION IV.

The eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the acceſſion of Richard I. A. D. 1189, *to the death of king John* A. D. 1216.

AS the eccleſiaſtical tranſactions in England, in the reign of Richard I. were not of great importance, they do not merit a minute detail. Though the heart of this prince was wholly ſet on his expedition into the Holy Land, and his thoughts much employed in making preparations for it; yet he beſtowed ſome attention, in the beginning of his reign, on the affairs of the church, that he might leave it in a ſtate of tran- 1189. The vacant ſees filled in a council at Pipewell.

188 Hoveden, Annal. p. 370. Chron. Mailroſs, p. 178.

Cent. XII. quillity. With this view he held a great council of his prelates and clergy at the abbey of Pipewell in Northamptonſhire, in September A. D. 1189, in which he filled up all the vacant ſees, by nominating Geoffrey de Lucy to that of Wincheſter, Richard archdeacon of Ely to Lincoln, William Longchamp, his chancellor, and great favourite, to Ely, Hubert Fitz-Walter dean of York to Saliſbury, and his own natural brother Geoffrey to York. On this laſt nomination, Baldwin archbiſhop of Canterbury ſtood up in the council, and claimed the ſole right of conſecrating the elect of York, producing a charter of William the Conqueror, in ſupport of that claim. No deciſion ſeems to have been given by the council on this claim, and Baldwin appealed to the pope[1].

Diſpute between the archbiſhop and the monks of Canterbury terminated.

In the month of November this year, John cardinal of Anagnia, the pope's legate, landed at Dover, with a commiſſion to terminate the diſpute between archbiſhop Baldwin and the monks of his cathedral, about the buildings at Hackington. But the king, deſirous of terminating this troubleſome and violent conteſt by his own authority, ſent a meſſage to the legate, to remain at Dover till he received further orders. In the mean time, Richard, with his mother queen Eleanor, and a great number of biſhops, abbots, and priors, arrived at Canterbury, and with much difficulty made a compromiſe between

[1] Hoveden, Annal. p. 376.

the

the contending parties, which was put in writing, and signed by the king, queen, bishops, and abbots. This accommodation was much in favour of the monks; for by it the prior of Christ's Church, who had been appointed by the archbishop, was to be turned out, and all the magnificent buildings at Hackington to be pulled down [2]. Cent. XII.

1190. Two councils.

After the departure of Richard on his expedition into the Holy Land, William Longchamp, bishop of Ely, who was at once chief justiciary, chancellor, and papal legate, reigned for some time in England, with more than regal power, and lived in more than royal pomp. This haughty prelate, by virtue of his legantine commission, held two councils in the course of this year, one at Gloucester, and the other at Westminster, chiefly with an intention to make an ostentatious display of his own greatness; for no business of importance was done at either of these councils [3].

1191. Archbishop Baldwin goes to the Holy Land, where he dies.

Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, seized with the epidemic frenzy of the times, had taken upon him the cross, at a council held at Gaitington, February 15th, A. D. 1188; and having spent about three years in preaching up the croisade, and preparing for his expedition, he embarked at Dover March 25th, A. D. 1191, abandoning both the honours and duties of his

[2] Hoveden, Annal. p. 377. [3] Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 493.

Cent. XII.

important ſtation [4]. After ſuffering many hardſhips in his voyage, he arrived in the Chriſtian army at the ſiege of Ptolemais, where he died, November 20th, the ſame year [5].

1192. Diſputes about the election of an archbiſhop. Reginald biſhop of Bath is elected, and dies.

The report of archbiſhop Baldwin's death reaching England in the beginning of March A. D. 1192, the diſpute between the monks of Canterbury and the biſhops of the province, about the right of election, which had ſo often diſturbed the tranquillity of the church of England, was again revived. The biſhop of London, to prevent the monks from proceeding to an immediate election, went in haſte to Canterbury, accompanied by an officer of the exchequer, and commanded them to take no ſtep towards ſupplying the vacancy in the archiepiſcopal chair, without the conſent of the king and of the biſhops of the province; on which the monks proteſted for the ſecurity of their right of election, and of all their other rights [6]. William Longchamp, who was both chief juſticiary and the papal legate, preſented a letter, May 25th, from the king to the convent, giving a high character of William archbiſhop of Mountreale, in Sicily, and commanding them to receive him as their archbiſhop. To this demand the monks gave the following anſwer, in a great council at Northampton in June—"That they had no certain evidence of "the death of archbiſhop Baldwin, who they

4 Gervas Chron. col. 1522. 1564.
5 Id. col. 1566.
6 Id. col. 1567. Diceto, col. 666.

"hoped

"hoped was ſtill alive; and therefore they "craved a delay, till that fact was aſcertained." This was, at laſt granted, after very warm debates[7]. In this interval the monks turned out ſuch of their number as they ſuſpected of unſteadineſs, particularly their prior, Oſbern, and placed Geoffrey, the ſub-prior, in his room[8]. The commotions that aroſe about this time, occaſioned by the impriſonment of Geoffrey archbiſhop of York, in the caſtle of Dover, by order of William Longchamp, prevented any farther proceedings in the affair of Canterbury, till after the public tranquillity was in ſome degree reſtored by the flight of Longchamp out of the kingdom[9]. On this event prince John, and Walter archbiſhop of Rouen, who had then the chief direction of affairs, held a council at London about the end of October; in which the monks of Canterbury, being required to give their conſent to the election of the archbiſhop of Mountreale, returned this artful anſwer,—"That they could not in conſcience "give their conſent at preſent to the election of "the perſon propoſed, until they were better "acquainted with his character, and until they "had aſked council of the Lord, and felt the "divine direction upon their minds." The archbiſhop of Rouen, who ſecretly aſpired to the primacy of England, was well pleaſed with this anſwer, granted a month's delay, and piouſly exhorted the monks to pray heartily during all Cent. XII.

[7] Gervas, col. 1159. [8] Id. col. 1160. [9] See chap. 1. p. 202.

Cent. XII. that time for the direction of Heaven [10]. Another council was accordingly called at Canterbury, November 28th, for the election of an archbishop. The monks having formed their plan beforehand, as soon as the council met, Geoffrey their prior stood up, and declared, in their name, that they chose, by the direction of the Holy Trinity, Reginald bishop of Bath to be their archbishop; and at the same time took that bishop by the hand, conducted him into the cathedral, and placed him in the archiepiscopal throne. On this (says the contemporary historian) the archbishop of Rouen turned pale, and fell a-trembling, seeing all his hopes blasted [11]. But Reginald did not long enjoy his new and unexpected dignity: for he fell sick soon after his election, and died December 26th, A. D. 1192.

1193. Hubert bishop of Salisbury chosen primate.

The news of king Richard's captivity reaching England in the beginning of this year, threw the whole kingdom into so much confusion, that no steps were taken for some time for supplying this new vacancy in the see of Canterbury. But the king himself, being sensible that an able and zealous friend in that important station might contribute not a little to raise his ransom and procure his liberty, wrote a letter from his prison to his mother queen Eleanor and his ministers, earnestly intreating them to procure the advancement of Hubert Fitz-Walter bishop of Salisbury (who had been with him in the Holy Land, and

[10] Gervas, col. 1578.

[11] Id. col. 1580.

was

was lately returned into England) to the primacy. These ministers managed this matter with so much dexterity, that Hubert was unanimously elected archbishop by the monks of Canterbury, May 29th, A. D. 1193, and as unanimously approved by the bishops of the province the day after [12]. Cent. XII.

1194, &c. Archbishop of York suspended by the pope.

The long and violent contests of Geoffrey, archbishop of York, with his brother king Richard;—with the archbishop of Canterbury,—and with the clergy of his own cathedral, seem to have been the effects of clerical pride, and passion; and though they occasioned much disquiet and confusion in those times, they are hardly worthy of a place in history [13]. It may only be proper to observe, that the archbishop of Canterbury, having obtained a legantine commission from the pope, dated March 18th, A. D. 1195, made a progress into the north, and held a synod of the clergy of the province of York in the cathedral of that city, in which he made several canons, and established his own authority, which was the chief object of his journey [14]. Soon after this the enemies of the archbishop of York became so numerous and powerful, that they prevailed against him at the court of Rome; and he was suspended from his offices and benefices by pope Celestine. The pretence for this severe censure was, that he

[12] Gervas, col. 1583.

[13] Hoveden, Annal. p. 417. Gervasii Chron. col. 1584.

[14] Hoveden, Annal. 430.

neglected

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neglected the duties of his ſacred function, and ſpent his time in hunting and hawking; but the real reaſon of it ſeems to have been, that he was an enemy to vexatious appeals to Rome, and endeavoured to prevent them [15].

1196. Diſputes between the archbiſhop and the monks of Canterbury about a new erection of a church at Lambeth.

Both the king and the biſhops of the province of Canterbury had long been very much offended at the monks of that cathedral, for the excluſive right that they claimed, and the great influence that they had obtained, in the election of the archbiſhops. To diminiſh that influence, the late archbiſhop had attempted to eſtabliſh a ſociety of ſecular canons at Hackington near Canterbury; and though he had been ſhamefully baffled in that attempt, his ſucceſſor, the preſent archbiſhop Hubert, formed the deſign of eſtabliſhing a ſimilar ſociety at Lambeth, near London, hoping that the diſtance of the place from Canterbury would prevent any oppoſition. But in this he was miſtaken. Nothing could eſcape the vigilance of the ſuſpicious monks, who immediately took the alarm, and commenced a moſt violent oppoſition. Both the king and the archbiſhop took all poſſible pains to allay their fears, and gain their conſent. In order to this they propoſed,—that every canon of Lambeth, before his admiſſion into his office, ſhould go down to Canterbury, and take a ſolemn oath at the high altar of the cathedral;—that he would never claim a vote in the election of an arch-

[15] Hoveden, Annal. p. 433.

biſhop,—that he would never conſent to the removing of the ſee of Canterbury, or the reliques of St. Thomas, from that city;—and, in a word, that he would never do any thing to the prejudice of the ancient rights of the church of Canterbury. But nothing would ſatisfy the monks, who inſtantly ſent two of their number to Rome; where they met with a moſt favourable reception, and ſoon returned with a bull from pope Innocent III. dated April 25th, A. D. 1197, directed to the archbiſhop at Canterbury, and commanding that prelate, in the moſt imperious ſtrain, to demoliſh all the buildings he had erected at Lambeth, within thirty days, under the penalty of being ſuſpended from his office: "For it is not "fit (ſays this inſolent pontiff in his bull) that "any man ſhould have any authority, who doth "not revere and obey the apoſtolic ſee[16]." The archbiſhop was greatly ſhocked and perplexed when he received this bull, and employed every method he could invent to gain the conſent of the monks to a ſhort delay of its execution. The king was ſtill more enraged at the conduct of the monks, in applying to Rome without his knowledge; and in a letter he threatened them with his higheſt indignation, and the confiſcation of all their poſſeſſions, if they inſiſted on the execution of the papal bull. But the monks were quite inflexible; and knowing themſelves to be ſecure under the protection of the Roman pontiff, Cent. XII.

[16] Gervas Chron. col. 1602, &c.

they

Cent. XII. they deſpiſed all the threats of their ſovereign and the perſuaſions of their primate. On this all their poſſeſſions and treaſures were ſeized by the king's officers. The archbiſhop immediately diſpatched agents to Rome, furniſhed with large ſums of money, and charged with letters in his favour from all his ſuffragans. Theſe agents were admitted to an audience of the pope and cardinals, October 24th, A. D. 1197; preſented the letters of the archbiſhop and of his ſuffragans; and pleaded their cauſe with great ability: and, the day after, the monks of Canterbury made their reply. The cauſe being thus heard, the pope confirmed his former ſentence againſt the archbiſhop; which he intimated to him by a bull, dated November 20th, threatening him with the higheſt cenſures of the church, if he did not immediately demoliſh the works at Lambeth. At the ſame time he directed another bull to the king, commanding him in a magiſterial tone to ſee the ſentence of the apoſtolic ſee executed; and telling him, that if he preſumed to oppoſe its execution, he would ſoon convince him, by the ſeverity of his puniſhment, how hard it was to kick againſt the pricks. The pope ſent alſo another bull to the king, written, if poſſible, in a ſtill higher ſtrain, commanding him immediately to reſtore all their poſſeſſions to the monks of Canterbury: "for he would not endure the "leaſt contempt of himſelf, or of God, whoſe "place he held on earth; but would puniſh, "without delay, and without reſpect of perſons,

"every

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"every one who presumed to disobey his commands, in order to convince the whole world, "that he was determined to act in a royal manner [17]." To such an intolerable height of impiety and arrogance had this audacious priest arrived! When these bulls were delivered to the king and the archbishop, they were terrified (says a contemporary historian) at the thunders of the church; and being convinced of the danger and vanity of resistance, they determined to obey [18]. Thus did the pertinacious monks obtain a complete victory over their king and primate, and had the satisfaction of seeing the obnoxious buildings at Lambeth pulled down to the very foundation in the months of January and February A. D. 1199, a little before the death of king Richard.

A.D.1200. The pope bestows the revenues of the see of St. David's on Giraldus Cambrensis.

If pope Innocent III. acted in a manner so imperious towards the lion-hearted Richard, we need not be surprised to find him domineering with still greater insolence over his indolent pusillanimous successor, king John. Of his intention to do this, he gave an early indication, by bestowing in the very beginning of this reign, the revenues of the vacant see of St. David's, which unquestionably belonged to the king, on the famous Girald Bary (commonly called *Giraldus Cambrensis* [19]). This wanton invasion of the rights of the crown was the more provoking,

[17] Gervas Chron. col. 1616—1624.

[18] Id. ibid.

[19] Anglia Sacra. t. 2. p. 512.

that

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that Girald, on whom theſe revenues were beſtowed, was one of the king's moſt open and inveterate enemies, to which the pope was no ſtranger.

The pope impoſes a tax on all the clergy of the church, for a croiſade.

— Notwithſtanding all the calamities that the Chriſtian world in general, and the king and kingdom of England in particular, had ſuffered by the late unfortunate expedition into the Holy Land, pope Innocent was not aſhamed to ſet another croiſade on foot, and that in a manner ſuited to his imperious character and high pretenſions. He iſſued a bull, dated December 27th, A. D. 1199, directed to all the prelates of the Chriſtian church, commanding them, and all their clergy, by the authority of the apoſtolic ſee,—of almighty God,—and of the Holy Ghoſt, and under the penalty of eternal damnation, to pay the fortieth part of all their revenues, for defraying the expence of this expedition, which was to be commanded by two cardinals named by the pope. The bull contains many directions about the manner of levying this tax upon the clergy, and of collecting the voluntary contributions of the laity, which are all expreſſed in the language of ſupreme authority[20]. This was the firſt attempt to impoſe a tax on the clergy of all nations, by the authority of the pope, as ſovereign of the church; which ought to have excited univerſal indignation. But thoſe dark unhappy times were the proper ſeaſon for ſuch daring uſurpations on

[20] Hoveden, Annal. p. 445.

the

the rights of mankind. It was probably to carry this bull into execution, that Hubert archbiſhop of Canterbury held a council of the clergy at Weſtminſter, A. D. 1200, in ſpite of the prohibition of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Eſſex, and high juſticiary of England [21]. This much we know however with certainty, that this papal tax was collected in England, and the money ariſing from it was carried to Rome by Philip, a notary of that church. "But (ſays a contemporary "hiſtorian) it will never be applied to the pur-"poſe for which it was raiſed, unleſs the Ro-"mans have changed their nature, and relin-"quiſhed their innate rapacity [22]." King John was ſo far from reſenting this intolerable inſult upon the rights of his crown and independency of his kingdom, by a foreign power impoſing a tax on his ſubjects without his conſent, that he voluntarily granted the fortieth part of his own revenues to the pope, and exhorted his barons to imitate his example [23]: a demonſtration that this weak prince did not underſtand the prerogatives of his crown, or that he had not the wiſdom and fortitude to defend them. Cent. XII.

At the ſame time that the pope impoſed this tax on the clergy for defraying the expence of his intended croiſade, he ſent his emiſſaries into all countries, and particularly into England, to exhort the laity to take the croſs. The moſt Cent. XIII. 1201, to 1205. A croiſade.

[21] Hoveden, Annal. p. 457. [22] Diceto, apud X Script. col. 707.
[23] Hoveden, Annal. p. 471.

Cent. XIII. remarkable of theſe emiſſaries was Euſtachius abbot of Flay in Normandy, who pretended to work many miracles, and to have received a letter from heaven, written by the hand of God, in which he threatened to rain ſticks and ſtones, and boiling water, on all who frequented fairs and markets on Sunday [24]. The declamations of this enthuſiaſt produced great effects. The Sundays fairs and markets were for ſome time deſerted, and multitudes of all ranks crowded to take the croſs, which he warmly recommended. When theſe deluded people had leiſure to reflect on what they had done, they repented of their raſhneſs, and would gladly have declined embarking in ſo diſtant and dangerous an expedition. But they ſoon found that there was no trifling with the court of Rome. For the pope no ſooner heard of this backwardneſs, than he iſſued a thundering bull, dated May 5th, A. D. 1201, directed to the archbiſhops and biſhops of England, commanding them to excommunicate by name, and with all poſſible ſolemnity, every perſon who had taken the croſs, and refuſed or delayed to fulfil his engagements [25]. This obliged all who had been ſo imprudent as to take the croſs, to go upon this croiſade, or to purchaſe a diſpenſation, which was not eaſily obtained. It may not be improper to take notice, that the great army that was raiſed on this occaſion by the authority of the pope, and conducted

[24] Hoveden, Annal. p. 457. [25] Id. p. 466.

by his counſels, was not employed in reſcuing the Holy Land from the hands of infidels, but in dethroning the Chriſtian emperor of Conſtantinople in order to ſubject that empire to the ſee of Rome [26]. Cent. XIII.

1205. Death of archbiſhop Hubert.

Few events were more to be dreaded by a king of England in this period, than a vacancy in the ſee of Canterbury, which was commonly productive of a violent conteſt at home, and a no leſs violent conflict with the court of Rome. But no vacancy in that ſee had ever been attended with ſuch fatal conſequences as that which happened at this time, on the death of archbiſhop Hubert, July 18th, A. D. 1205 [27]. Theſe conſequences were indeed ſo ſingular and important that they merit a very diſtinct conſideration.

Two archbiſhops elected.

The monks of the cathedral of Canterbury had long claimed an excluſive right to elect their archbiſhops; but this right had always been diſputed by the kings of England and the prelates of the province. On this occaſion the monks determined to exclude their competitors from any ſhare in the election, by making a ſecret and ſudden choice, before the vacancy could be generally known. As ſoon therefore as they heard of the death of Hubert, they held a chapter in the night-time, and choſe their own ſub-prior Reginald to be archbiſhop, and placed him in

[26] Bzovii Continuat. Baron. Annal. ann. 1202, 1203, 1204. Goldaſt. Conſtit. Imper. t. 3. p. 369.

[27] Gervas. col. 1683.

Cent. XIII. the archiepiſcopal throne. At the ſame time they obliged Reginald to take an oath, that he would not publiſh his election without the conſent of the convent, and ſent him away next morning, with ſome of their own number, to Rome, to obtain the approbation of the pope. This ſcheme was well contrived; and would probably have been crowned with ſucceſs, if the vanity of Reginald had not got the better of his prudence, and even of the obligation of his oath. For he no ſooner arrived in Flanders, than he aſſumed the ſtate of the archbiſhop-elect of Canterbury, and ſhewed the letters of his election to ſeveral perſons. The news of this ſoon reached England, and occaſioned no little noiſe. The monks were ſo much offended at the miſconduct of their elect, that they determined to abandon him, in order to make their peace with the king, whoſe indignation they juſtly dreaded. They accordingly ſent ſome of their number to the king, to aſk his leave to proceed to the election of an archbiſhop, and to obtain it they ſecretly agreed to chuſe John de Gray biſhop of Norwich. As ſoon as theſe agents returned to Canterbury with the king's licence, a chapter was held, and John de Gray was unanimouſly choſen archbiſhop; and, on his arrival, was ſolemnly enthroned in the preſence of the king, who immediately put him in poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the ſee. That nothing might be wanting to render this election valid, ſome of the

monks were dispatched to Rome to procure the approbation of the pope [28]. Cent. XIII.

But this affair, which was already sufficiently embarrassed by a double election, became now more perplexed by the appearance of a third party. The bishops of the province, who had always claimed a share in the election of their metropolitan, had been quite neglected in the late elections. They therefore sent their agents to Rome to complain of this neglect, and to protest against both elections, as invalid on that account. Nothing could be more agreeable to the court of Rome, than the appearance of so many parties, and so many clashing claims. Great sums of money were expended, and a whole year was employed in pleadings, audiences, hearing witnesses, and examining records. At length, when one part of this great controversy was ripe for decision, the pope issued a bull, dated December 21st, A. D. 1206, declaring, that from thenceforward the suffragans of the province of Canterbury should not pretend to any share in the election of their metropolitan, nor disturb the monks of the cathedral in the enjoyment of their exclusive right to chuse their archbishop [29]. 1206. Bishops of the province appeal to Rome, and the pope determines against them.

The pope, after having thus determined the dispute between the bishops and the monks, proceeded to examine the great controversy between the two archbishops-elect. The agents of both parties supported their respective claims with 1207. The pope vacates both elections.

[28] M. Paris, p. 148, 149. [29] Id. p. 149, 150.

Cent. XIII. great eagerneſs and obſtinacy. When more than a year had been ſpent in pleadings and inveſtigations on this ſubject, his holineſs pronounced a definitive ſentence, declaring both the election of the ſub-prior and of the biſhop of Norwich to be irregular and uncanonical, and decreeing that neither of theſe perſons ſhould be capable of being choſen archbiſhop of Canterbury [30]. The laſt part of this ſentence was intended to exclude the biſhop of Norwich the king's favourite, who, in caſe of a new election, would infallibly have been choſen.

1207. Stephen Langton choſen archbiſhop at Rome by a few monks.

The archbiſhopric being thus declared vacant, the pope began to unfold his ſcheme, which it is probable he had formed long before, of filling it with a creature of his own, without ſo much as conſulting the king of England. In order to this, he commanded the monks of Canterbury, who were then at Rome, immediately to proceed to the election of an archbiſhop, and at the ſame time commanded them to chuſe cardinal Stephen Langton. The monks objected, that they could not do this without the conſent of their convent; but the pope haſtily replied, that his authority ſupplied all defects. The monks, fourteen in number, who had been agents for the biſhop of Norwich, laboured under another and ſtill greater difficulty. Before they left England, they had ſolemnly ſworn to the king (who dreaded that they might be corrupted at the court of

[30] M. Paris, p. 155.

Rome),

Rome), that they would never acknowledge any person but the bishop of Norwich for archbishop of Canterbury. But the plenitude of papal power soon removed this obstacle. His holiness absolved them from the obligation of their oaths, and commanded them immediately to proceed to an election, under the penalty of the highest censures of the church. With this they all complied, except Elias de Brentfield. Stephen Langton was chosen archbishop of Canterbury by a few monks at Rome, and consecrated by the pope himself at Viterbo, June 27th, A. D. 1207[31]. Cent. XIII.

Innocent was not ignorant that this unprecedented transaction would rouse the indignation of the king of England, and therefore he endeavoured beforehand to sooth the mind of that prince. With this view he sent him four rings of gold, set with four different kinds of precious stones, accompanied with a flattering letter, which contained an illustration of the mysteries represented by these rings. King John, who was equally fond of trinkets and of flattery, expressed much satisfaction with this papal present. But this satisfaction was of short duration. For a few days after the bull arrived, intimating the election and consecration of cardinal Langton; which threw him into a most violent rage, both against the pope and the monks of Canterbury. As these last were most within his reach, they felt the first effects of his indignation. Two John's letter to the pope and the pope's answer.

[31] M. Paris, p. 155.

Cent. XIII. officers, Fulk de Cantalou and Henry de Cornhille, with a company of armed men, were ſent to Canterbury, who took poſſeſſion of the convent of the Holy Trinity, baniſhed the monks out of the kingdom, and ſeized all their eſtates. King John then wrote a ſpirited and angry letter to the pope, in which he accuſed him of injuſtice and preſumption, in raiſing a ſtranger to the higheſt dignity in his kingdom, without his knowledge. He reproached the pope and court of Rome with ingratitude, in not remembering that they derived more riches from England than from all the kingdoms on this ſide the Alps. He aſſured him, that he was determined to ſacrifice his life in defence of the rights of his crown; and that if his holineſs did not immediately repair the injury he had done him, he would break off all communication with Rome [32]. Though this letter was written in a ſtrain very becoming a king of England, it was very ſhocking to the pride of the haughty pontiff, who had been long accuſtomed to trample on the majeſty of kings. Innocent immediately returned a long anſwer; in which, after many expreſſions of diſpleaſure and reſentment, he tells the king plainly, that if he perſiſted in this diſpute, he would plunge himſelf into inextricable difficulties, and would at length be cruſhed by him, before whom every knee muſt bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth [33].

[32] M. Paris, p. 156. [33] Id. p. 157.

Theſe

Cent. XIII.

1208.

The pope lays England under an interdict.

These two letters might be considered as a formal declaration of war between the pope and the king of England. But the contest was very unequal. For the former had now attained that extravagant height of power which made the greatest monarchs tremble upon their thrones, and the latter had sunk very low both in his reputation and authority, having before this time lost his foreign dominions by his indolence, and the esteem and affection of his subjects at home by his crimes and follies. Innocent was not ignorant of the advantage he possessed; and therefore, without delay, he laid all the dominions of king John under an interdict; and this sentence was published in England, at the pope's command, March 23d, A. D. 1208, by the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, though the king endeavoured to deter them from it by the most dreadful threats. From that time the churches were shut up, and the clergy refrained from performing any of the duties of their function, except hearing confessions, baptizing infants, and administring the viaticum. The king was so much enraged against the clergy for obeying the interdict, that he commanded his sheriffs to seize all their lands and revenues in their several counties, and withdrew from them the protection of the laws, by which they were exposed to injuries of all kinds. To avoid these injuries some fled into foreign parts, others confined themselves within the precincts of their churches, and

Cent. XIII.

and the whole kingdom was a ſcene of confuſion and diſmay [34].

1209. The pope excommunicates king John.

When this interdict had continued about two years, the pope proceeded a ſtep further, and pronounced the dreaded ſentence of excommunication againſt king John, which he commanded the biſhops of London, Ely, and Worceſter, his moſt obſequious tools, to publiſh in England. Theſe prelates, who reſided on the continent, ſent copies of the ſentence, and of the pope's commands, to publiſh it in their churches, to the biſhops and clergy who remained in England. But ſuch was their dread of the royal indignation, that none of them had the courage to execute theſe commands. The ſentence however did not remain a ſecret; but became the ſubject of converſation in all companies. Even Geoffrey archdeacon of Norwich, one of the king's judges, when ſitting on the bench in the exchequer at Weſtminſter, declared to the other judges, that the king was excommunicated, and that he did not think it lawful for him to act any longer in his name. But for this declaration he was thrown into priſon, where he ſoon after died [35].

1211. The Engliſh laity adhere to king John.

In the mean time the pope was much enraged at the loyalty of the Engliſh laity to their prince; and, in order to ſhake it, he ſent them ſeveral letters full of threats and promiſes [36]. But theſe

34 M. Paris, p. 158. Hen. Knyghton, apud X Script. col. 2415.
35 M. Paris, p. 159. 36 Innocen. Epiſt. lib. 10. Ep. 159, 160.

letters

letters produced little or no effect; for the great barons and their followers adhered with so much ſteadineſs to the king, that while he lay under the ſentence of excommunication, he executed the only two ſucceſsful expeditions of his reign, the one into Wales, and the other into Ireland [37]. This gives us reaſon to believe, that if John had continued to act with firmneſs, and had ſecured the affections of his own ſubjects, by a juſt and mild adminiſtration, he would have triumphed over all the arts of Rome, and delivered himſelf and his country from their ignominious ſubjection to a foreign prieſt. Cent. XIII.

Inſolent behaviour of the papal legates.

In the courſe of this year ſome ſecret overtures had been made for an accommodation of this famous controverſy; and in conſequence of theſe overtures, the pope ſent two legates, Pandulph and Durand, into England. Theſe legates were admitted to an audience in a parliament held at Northampton; when a moſt violent altercation enſued between them and the king. In this altercation Pandulph was not afraid to tell the king, in the face of his parliament, that he was bound to obey the pope in temporals as well as in ſpirituals: and when John refuſed to ſubmit to the will of his holineſs without reſerve, the audacious legate publiſhed the ſentence of excommunication againſt him with a loud voice, abſolved all his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, degraded him from his royal dignity, and

[37] M. Paris, p. 160.

declared

Cent. XIII. declared that neither he nor any of his poſterity ſhould ever reign in England[38]. This was certainly carrying clerical inſolence to the moſt extravagant height. But in thoſe unhappy times the meaneſt agents of the pope inſulted the greateſt princes with impunity.

1212. The pope depoſes king John, and excommunicates all who adhered to him.

After the return of the legates to Rome, and their report of the obſtinacy of the king of England, the pope proceeded to more violent meaſures. He pronounced, with great ſolemnity, a ſentence of depoſition againſt king John, and of excommunication againſt all who ſhould obey him, or have any connections with him[39]. When theſe ſentences were known in England, they began to excite the ſuperſtitious fears of too many of the barons; who were, at the ſame time, much diſſatisfied with their prince, for his imprudent, illegal, and oppreſſive government. Of this ſecret diſaffection of his barons, John received intimations from the king of Scotland, from his own natural daughter the princeſs of Wales, and from other quarters, which alarmed him not a little, and began to ſtagger his reſolution[40]. About the ſame time one Peter the Hermit, a mad enthuſiaſt, went up and down preaching with great vehemence againſt John for his diſobedience to the pope, and propheſying that he would not be king of England on next

[38] Annal. Monaſt. Burton, apud Rerum Anglican. Script. t. 1. p. 165, 166. [39] M. Paris, p. 161. [40] Id. ibid.

Aſcenſion

Ascension day: "and his declarations (says a "contemporary historian) were as firmly believed "by all who heard him, as if it had been a voice "from heaven [41]." Cent. XIII.

1213. The pope commits the execution of his sentence to the king of France, who prepares to invade England.

The pope, in order to render his sentence of deposition against king John effectual, appointed the king of France to put it in execution, and promised him the pardon of all his sins, and the kingdom of England for his reward. This was a temptation which that prince had neither wisdom nor virtue to resist. Blinded by his ambition, he became the tool of the court of Rome, in destroying the common rights of princes, which he ought to have supported with all his power. Philip, now become the champion of the church, raised a mighty army, and collected a great fleet, in order to invade England, and take possession of that kingdom in consequence of the papal grant; not reflecting that he thereby acknowledged the right of the pope to dispose of crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure [42].

King of France obliged to relinquish his enterprise.

King John had good intelligence of all these transactions on the continent, and made the most vigorous preparations for his own defence. But all these preparations on both sides served only to promote the purposes of the court of Rome. For as soon as John was sufficiently intimidated by his dread of the French army, and his suspicions of his own subjects, to induce him to make an ignominious surrender of his crown

[41] M. Paris, p. 161. [42] Id. p. 162.

and

Cent. XIII. and kingdom to the pope, Philip was obliged to abandon his enterprise against England, to avoid the thunders of the church, the dreadful effects of which he had before his eyes.

The pope neglects the interest of his tools.

In consequence of the unlimited submission of king John to the will of the pope, Stephen Langton, whose promotion had been the cause of the late fatal contest, came over to England, took possession of his see, and soon after absolved the king from the sentence of excommunication[43]. At the same time the bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Hereford, with all the other clergy and laity who had been banished in the course of this quarrel, returned, with high expectations of receiving the most ample satisfaction for all the damages they had sustained, and of having a considerable share in the management of affairs. But these expectations were not fully answered; and they soon began to complain, that when the pope had gained his own ends, he became unmindful of the interests of his friends. Nor were these complaints without foundation. For about Michaelmas this year Nicholas bishop of Tusculum arrived in England as the pope's legate, and regulated all ecclesiastical affairs in the most arbitrary manner, without consulting with the primate or any of the clergy. The archbishop, and those who had been sufferers in the papal cause in the late quarrel, were so far from receiving that ample and immediate satis-

[43] Epist. Innocent. p. 827. M. Paris, p. 166.

faction

faction for their damages, which had been ſtipulated, and they expected, that they were put off from time to time, under various pretences, with the conſent of the legate. In beſtowing vacant benefices, he paid no regard to the pretenſions of the papal party, but preferred only his own creatures, or thoſe recommended by the king [44]. Cent. XIII.

1214. The clergy of England appeal to the pope againſt his legate.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury, greatly chagrined at the new councils of the court of Rome, and at the conduct of its legate, held a provincial ſynod of his ſuffragans and clergy at Dunſtable, about the middle of January, A. D. 1214. At this ſynod the moſt loud and vehement complaints were made againſt the legate, for his partiality to the king, and his diſcouragement of thoſe of the clergy who had adhered to the court of Rome in the late conteſt. After long debates, it was agreed to ſend a deputation of two clergymen to the legate, who was then at Burton upon Trent, to intimate to him, that the archbiſhop had appealed to the pope againſt his proceedings, and to inhibit him from granting inſtitution to any more prelates or prieſts within the province of Canterbury. To this intimation the legate paid no further regard, than by ſending the famous Pandulph to Rome, to defend his conduct againſt any who might appear there to accuſe him [45].

The interdict taken off.

Though king John had been abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication ſoon after his agreement with the pope, the interdict upon the

[44] M. Paris, p. 171, 172.

[45] Id. p. 172.

kingdom

Cent. XIII. kingdom was continued, till it ſhould be ſeen how he would adhere to that agreement. But the king having now entirely gained the heart of the pope, by renewing his ſubmiſſion, and by ſending him a great ſum of money, his holineſs gave a commiſſion to his legate to remove the interdict. This was accordingly taken off, with great ſolemnity, in the cathedral of St. Paul's, London, June 29th, A.D. 1214, after it had continued ſix years three months and fourteen days [46].

The inferior clergy, who had ſuffered in the late troubles, obtain no redreſs.

The archbiſhop and monks of Canterbury, with the biſhops of London, Hereford, Ely, Lincoln, and Bath, who had been the greateſt ſufferers in the late conteſt, obtained at different times twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds in reparation of the damages they had ſuſtained. But the reſt of the ſufferers in that cauſe, conſiſting of an innumerable multitude of abbots, priors, templars, hoſpitallers, abbeſſes, monks, nuns, ſecular clerks, and laymen, when they applied to the legate about the reparation of their damages, were told, that he had received no directions from the pope about that matter: and this ſeems to have been all the reparation they ever received [47]. Simon Langton, brother to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who appeared at Rome to proſecute the appeal of his brother and his clergy againſt the legate, had no greater ſucceſs. For Pandulph, who was agent for the

[46] M. Paris, p. 173. [47] Id. p. 174.

legate

legate, having painted king John in the moſt amiable colours, as a moſt pious, juſt, and humble prince, and repreſented the primate and his clergy as exceſſively rigid and covetous in their demands of reſtitution, and enemies to the juſt prerogatives of the king, they were diſmiſſed without any redreſs: a treatment which they had merited for eſpouſing the cauſe of Rome againſt their king and country, but which they had no reaſon to expect from that court whoſe cauſe they had eſpouſed. Cent. XIII.

In the famous conteſt that raged at this time between king John and his barons about the great charter of their liberties, the pope ſupported the party of his new vaſſal with great warmth, and was not ſparing of his ſpiritual thunders againſt the barons and their favourers. In particular, he was ſo much diſpleaſed with the political conduct of his own creature the archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he laid him under a ſentence of ſuſpenſion; and reverſed the election of his brother Simon Langton, who had been choſen archbiſhop of York [48]. A.D. 1215. The pope ſuſpends the primate.

Innocent III. being now in the zenith of his power, aſſembled a general council in the church of St. Saviour de Lateran at Rome, in November this year, at which were preſent no fewer than four hundred and twelve biſhops, beſides an incredible number of abbots, priors, and inferior clergy. His intention in calling this council General council at Rome.

[48] M. Paris, p. 188.

Cent XIII. doth not seem to have been to take the advice of its members in the affairs of the church, but to make an ostentatious display of his own greatness and supreme authority. For the seventy canons decreed in this council had been prepared before, were read in the council, and passed without any deliberation or debate; though some things in them appeared very intolerable to many of the members[49]. In the confession of faith contained in the first canon, the new doctrine of transubstantiation is inserted in these strong terms: "The body and blood of Christ are contained "really in the sacrament of the altar under the "species of bread and wine; the bread being "transubstantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, "and the wine into his blood, by the power of "God." For this wonderful transubstantiation, the following curious reason is assigned:— "That we might receive of Christ's nature, "what he had received of ours[50]." The third canon commands kings and princes to extirpate all heretics in their territories, under the penalty of being excommunicated, and deprived of their dominions; which gave occasion to the most horrid scenes of cruelty and bloodshed. These, and several other canons in the same collection, sufficiently shew the darkness of this period, and the great incroachments the court of Rome had made on the civil and religious rights of man-

[49] M. Paris, p. 184. Du Pin, Eccles. Hist. cent. 13. c. 6.
[50] Id. ibid.

kind.

kind. The many fatal changes that were made both in the civil and eccleſiaſtical polity of England by the incroachments of that ambitious court, will be mentioned in their proper places in the third chapter of this book. Cent. XIII.

Eccleſiaſtical miſtery of Scotland.

AFTER the termination of the long and violent diſpute between John Scot and biſhop Hugh about the ſee of St. Andrews, the church of Scotland ſeems to have enjoyed a long period of profound tranquillity, which affords very few materials for hiſtory. King William the Lion, to put an end to the pretenſions of the archbiſhops of York to the primacy of Scotland, which had been the occaſion of many conteſts, obtained a bull from pope Celeſtine III. dated March 17th, A.D. 1192, declaring, That the church of Scotland was immediately ſubject to the ſee of Rome, without the intervention of any other;—that none but the pope or his legate *a latere* had a right to lay that kingdom under an interdict;—that none but a Scotch prelate, or one ſent directly from Rome, ſhould be capable of the legantine authority in Scotland;—and that all controverſies that could not be finally determined within that kingdom, ſhould be brought immediately before the pope[51]. Innocent III. the ſucceſſor of Celeſtine, ſent John, cardinal of St. Stephen de Monte Cœlia, as his legate, into Scotland and Ireland; who held a national

[51] Wilkin. Concil. t. i. p. 495.

Cent. XIII. council at Perth, A. D. 1201, for making canons, and reforming the manners of the clergy. The canons of this council are all loſt, except one, which commanded the Sabbath to be kept from Saturday at twelve o'clock noon, to Monday morning [52]. King William was preſent at this council, with all the nobility, as well as the prelates and principal clergy of his kingdom; who, at the king's deſire, took an oath of fealty to his ſon prince Alexander (who was then only three years of age) as his ſucceſſor [53]. Several eccleſiaſtical controverſies were alſo determined at this council, particularly one between the biſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, and the abbot and monks of Kelſo [54].

National council at Perth.

Roger biſhop of St. Andrews died at Cambuſkenneth, A. D. 1202; and was ſucceeded in that ſee by William Malvoiſin, biſhop of Glaſgow; who governed it no leſs than thirty-five years, with great wiſdom and felicity. That prelate, in conjunction with Walter biſhop of Glaſgow, received a legantine commiſſion from Innocent III. and in virtue of that commiſſion, with the conſent of the king, they held a national council at Perth, A. D. 1211. The deſign of that council was to promote a croiſade for the recovery of the Holy Land; and by the exhortations of theſe prelates, and of the reſt of the clergy, great multitudes of the common people,

[52] Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 495. Boeth. Hiſt. Scot. l. 13. p. 277.
[53] Id. ibid. [54] Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 509.

but

but very few of the nobility, took
The backwardneſs of the Scotch nob.
bark in this croiſade, was probably own
deplorable fate of five hundred of their co y-
men, moſtly noblemen and gentlemen, who accompanied king Richard in his expedition into the eaſt, under the conduct of earl David, brother to William the Lion, who all periſhed, except their leader, who returned, after having ſuffered the moſt incredible hardſhips for the ſpace of four years [56].

Seat of the ſee of Moray fixed at Spyny.

Brice Douglas biſhop of Moray fixed the ſeat of his ſee, A. D. 1212 (which before had been unſettled), at the church of the Holy Trinity of Spyny, which he declared a cathedral, and in which he conſtituted a chapter, conſiſting of eight canons reſidentiary, in imitation of the chapter of Lincoln [57].

Scotch biſhops attend the general council at Rome.

William biſhop of St, Andrews, Walter biſhop of Glaſgow, and Brice biſhop of Moray, with Henry abbot of Kelſo, attended in perſon the general council held at Rome, in November A. D. 1215, while the reſt of the Scotch prelates contented themſelves with ſending repreſentatives [58].

[56] Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 532. [56] Boeth. l. 15.
[57] Wilkin. Concil. t. 1. p. 532. [58] Chron. Mailros in ann. 1215

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